# America

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK



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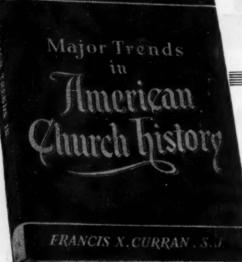
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#### Debate on atom control

If you are puzzled by the debate going on in the United Nations concerning the control of the atom bomb and other weapons of mass destruction, a few points, if held in mind, may make the discussion more clear. The Russians are opposed to the only type of international organization which, our delegation considers, would conceivably be effective for that purpose, viz. one which would be antecedent to any other action on these weapons, which would automatically punish violators, and would be independent of the present Security Council setup as long as this is subject to the veto (or principle of unanimity); that is to say, as long as the United Nations subjects this-basic disarmament- matter to its peculiar set of principles. The Russians fear any really effective international organization (one which punishes violators, etc.), because they see in it the death knell of their absolute sovereignty and iron curtain. We would be equally opposed to it, undoubtedly, if there were any expectation of our being able to keep the atomic secret. But the atomic scientists confront us with a warning and an assurance. They warn us that there is no possibility of our keeping the secret of these weapons, so that our only defense against them is political organization, not scientific or military ingenuity. They assure us that an international agency charged with all forms of nuclear production can actually detect any incipient production of atomic bombs, so that no country, even one so vast as Russia, could escape immediate discovery if it ventured in this line. Are the scientists right? Even those Congressmen who insist that our only salvation lies in clinging to a secret which will not remain a secret, hesitate, apparently, to reject the scientists' testimony. In the meanwhile, as the long debate continues, nuclear peace production is stopped.

#### UMT not a dead issue

The general public seems to feel that the chances of a universal-military-training law coming out of the 80th Congress are practically nil. Not so the War Department. There is evidence that the Army intends to force the UMT issue to a head as a permanent substitute for the Selective Service law, which expires on March 31. The time is short-so War Department spokesmen are stepping up their campaign. On January 26, Secretary of War Patterson told a Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense that UMT "is a must," and he appealed to the women to get out and work for it. Two days later, Warren Austin, our delegate to the United Nations Security Council, came from a conference with President Truman with the word that UMT is the foundation "of the whole superstructure of peace." "The world must have the knowledge," he added, "that we have a trained body of men in the background." Next day he brought

his demand for universal training before a secret session of both the Senate and House Armed Services committees. Then, on February 7, Secretary of State Marshall stated at his much-publicized press conference that our Government "will avoid with care a repetition of the tragic consequences of unilateral disarmament and the limitation of armaments as was done in 1921." On February 15, Mr. Patterson gave his January 26 speech over again at Temple University's Founders' Day dinner in Philadelphia. Mr. Austin's advocacy of UMT is interesting. If UMT is the foundation "of the whole superstructure of peace," what about our principal part in the UN disarmament resolution? Nor is General Marshall's reference to "unilateral disarmament" in 1921 any more understandable. After World War I all parties disarmed -Germany by compulsion and the Allies by agreement among themselves. The "tragic consequences" came, not from disarmament, but from rearmament. A UMT law at this juncture would give the lie to our sincerity in working for world disarmament.

#### Czechs against Central European federation

The Czechoslovak government will oppose as "wholly outdated" any tendency toward a Central European federation of states. In reaffirming this policy, President Eduard Benes went so far as to warn the Slovak National Council that the presence of Russians on the other side of the Carpathians excludes any such federative combination of states. Russians, he added, would never tolerate such a move, for it would be offensive to their sense of security. Apparently the Slovaks, as well as other small nations of Central and Eastern Europe, would welcome some form of political cooperation outside the Soviet sphere of influence. Benes' warning, eloquent as it is, emphasizes once more the Soviet determination on this point. One should not be surprised that Russia views with disfavor any conglomeration of small Eastern European states not totally her satellites, while approving just such a bloc in the Balkans. It has long been known that Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are working for federation of their two countries under Soviet auspices. Such a "union" would not only give Russia a link between the Black and Adriatic Seas, but it would serve as a centripetal force in regard to neighboring countries, including Czechoslovakia. The recently convened All-Slav Congress in Belgrade not only stressed the need of "Slav solidarity" in the face of the "Anglo-Saxon danger," but canvassed delegates regarding a possible federation of all Slav peoples. Perhaps it will be a federation of Soviet character, in which Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland as well, will become "republic-sisters" of the Soviet Union. Evidently President Benes knows better than anybody else that a new Little Entente without Soviet approval is impossible of realization at this time.

Yet the Czechoslovak economy can hardly achieve recovery by depending alone on close ties with the Soviet Union. Realization of the two-year plan for industrial reconstruction would require industrial supplies from the United States and other Western countries. That is the dilemma in which Czechoslovakia finds herself at the present time.

#### India's dilemma

The Indian National Congress Party still awaits a response from London to their reiterated demand for the removal of the Moslem League from the interim government. This current deadlock of India's two main political parties has not been solved even by proclamation of the Indian republic. On January 22, 1947, India's Constituent Assembly passed unanimously a resolution, moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, declaring "its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an independent sovereign republic" in which all power and authority . . . "are derived from the people." The Assembly reconvened after a month's recess. It was hoped that during this time the Moslem League would join in the preparatory work before the fundamental declaration of objectives was passed upon. According to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Assembly President, "every community in India, whatever the party affiliation of the persons representing that community, was represented in the Assembly." (Cf. India Today, January, 1947). But the Moslem League boycotted the Constituent Assembly and demanded that the British renounce their blueprint for India's independence as not satisfying Moslem party postulates. Meanwhile the British are acting with prudent care and are weighing every political consideration before they take any definite step which might possibly have the effect of postponing a solution indefinitely. Another view is that Britain may have to abandon attempts to bring the Moslem League into the Constituent Assembly, and thus let the Congress-Party-dominated body proceed with framing the final draft of the constitution. This latter view is admittedly pessimistic, but it is based on growing apprehension that the Moslem League will never abandon its initial demands. Nevertheless, hope still exists that a compromise between the Hindus and the Moslems can be reached. The partisans of the latter view maintain that, should Britain remove herself as mediator, both parties will have to face hard political realities and make their peace. This will not only facilitate India's development, but will relieve Britain of one of her heaviest burdens.

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#### Refugee children

The problem of refugee children has once more come to the attention of our American public. This time it is in connection with the long-standing dispute between voluntary relief agencies and certain European states as to their final destiny. Although the number of unaccompanied displaced children is not great-it was estimated at about 10,000 by one agency as of May 31, 1946-their care involves serious difficulties. The national origin of these children occasions much of the trouble. Some of them were brought to Germany by the Nazis from various countries, with the intention of Germanizing them and possibly making them into soldiers in adult life. Others are the children of deportees and slave laborers. In the course of the war many such children became separated from their parents and for all practical purposes had to be treated as orphans. The background of these children adds to the problem. Few of them knew any tender days of childhood, but rather privations, horrors and even the sight of death in concentration and extermination camps. Their future is a vital issue today and it is being raised by the relief agencies and the governments concerned. The Yugoslav and Polish governments, for example, are ready to take back children from their countries, provided they are turned over unconditionally. UNRRA, for one, has been ready to turn them over, if there is evidence that parents or relatives are alive in the home countries. Theoretically this is a sound position, since the children should be returned to their families if at all possible. Actually, there are reports that the children on return are sent to state orphanages or shelter homes to be trained as leaders in communist ideology. The mere word of the countries in question cannot be relied upon. The ultimate fate of these children is not yet clear, and is bound up to a large degree with the successful operation of the International Children's Fund. For the time being we should not be naive in letting them go without positive assurance that their rights will be safeguarded. Meanwhile, Americans can assist the relief agencies working for children in Europe, by giving generously of money or articles needed in rebuilding their bodies and minds.

#### Divorce grows apace

Divorce as a national disease is making rapid inroads on the solidarity of American family life. The figures tell an alarming story.

Year	Marriages	Divorces	Per cent Ratio
1887	 482,680	27,919	5.8
1900	 685,101	55,751	8.1
1914	 1,025,092	100,584	9.9
1920	 1,274,476	170,505	13.4
1929	 1,232,559	201,468	16.3
1939	 1,403,633	251,000	17.9
1945	 1,618,331	502,000	31.0
1946	 2,300,000	600,000	26.1

The rate at which homes are broken up is growing much more rapidly than the rate at which new homes are formed. The 1937-1939 annual average for divorces was 248,000. The 1946 (preliminary estimate) high of

600,000 represents an increase of 142 per cent over the pre-war average. In the same period the number of marriages has only increased 56 per cent. The conclusion as to deteriorating family morality should be evident. Back in 1887 there was only one divorce for every 17 marriages; in 1945 one for every 3.3. Where will it eventually end?

#### The blushing bride

She does it in more senses than one these divorceridden days. Now it is no longer the trepidation of maidenly modesty alone that mantles her cheek; nor is it the seemingly endless stretch of the middle aisle which causes her palpitations-rather it is that at the end of the aisle there loom two sets of "parents" waiting to give her away-one set having already given her away morally some time previously. This observation, whichby mentioning the silly social complications divorce causes emphasizes the moral chaos involved, was made by one who is an authority on etiquette for brides. Mrs. Marjorie Woods, wedding counselor for Bride's Magazine, says that even people who are well bred "do the most atrocious things when inviting guests to weddings." This is particularly true where "divided parents are using both their names on wedding invitations. Some invitations carry four sets of names on them." This "causes embarrassment to the bride." The correct thing is to have the bride sponsored by her own mother. If the bride's father has remarried, he may sponsor his daughter, but whenever the mother is living he should not bring the stepmother into the picture except on the reception card. A most touching thoughtfulness crops up in: "the second wife may be hostess at the reception, with the mother in the background to create a family feeling." It's all very well bred and civilized—only we wonder what are the feelings of the poor bridegroom about his chances of staying married when he is launched on the marital sea in the very midst of wrecks that have not gone a yard from shore. But of course he, too, would be much too polite to voice such doubts then-he will only work on them later.

#### Build up family life

A careful study of the full record shows that prosperity, particularly in wartime, pushes up the divorce rate. However, this is a symptom rather than a cause of the underlying disease. More significant is the relationship of divorces to the number of children. Childless marriages lead in the divorce courts and, as the number of children mounts, the chances of a family break-up decline. But repeated attack on the morality, or rather immorality, of divorce and birth control is no solution to the problem. In fact, it can only aggravate the trouble as persons with already dull consciences start justifying what they do. The effective answers must be positive. First of all comes proper religious formation, with a view to marriage. While youth in Catholic schools get the basic religious training which will aid them in meeting later difficulties, it should not be overlooked that additional and immediately practical preparation for family living is urgently needed. Such training presupposes recognition by teachers that most students will take up family careers and responsibilities and that relatively few are destined for the priesthood or religious life. Possible positive contributions to home stabilization are many. They include adult education in parental responsibilies, family retreats, provision of adequate housing with space for normal family living. Still other ways will suggest themselves to those who recognize that constructive steps must be taken by all concerned. There has been plenty of condemnation. It is time to rebuild American family living from the ground up. That means rebuilding the home as an institution that is cherished and protected by all.

#### Church difficulties in Germany

The recrudescence of denazification in the Russian zone in Germany (cf. last week's issue, p. 568) has fallen with particular virulence on teachers. In Thuringia, for example, it is declared that half the teachers were party members, and will, therefore, be subject to dismissal. There is a possibility that Moscow is thus seeking a way out of living up to a recent agreement which allows the teaching of religion by churches. This was reported by Dr. Paul C. Empie, director of Lutheran World Action, recently back from Central Europe, who said that 50,000 teachers would have to be trained for the task. But in our readiness to censure the Russians, it is good to remember that the Church faces similar difficulties in the Western zones. A British delegation of six Protestant and three Catholic churchmen, recently returned from an inspection of the British zone, found it necessary to complain to the Allied Control Commission that that body has shown "inadequate recognition of and cooperation with the work of the churches." Specially desiderated is "more consideration for the views and interests of the churches in such matters as education, ecclesiastical censorship, youth work and the reconstruction of church property," and the appointment to the Religious Affairs Branch of the Control Commission of men "in sympathy with the work of the churches." The delegation urged fuller cooperation from the Control Commission in such matters as the rebuilding of schools, supplies of textbooks, adequate paper supplies for publications for youth. Otherwise, the churches in Germany will continue to suffer the "mental isolation" of lack of contact with their fellows throughout the world. It is a sad commentary that such complaints have to be registered at this late date in Germany's occupation. Has the U. S. AMG done any better in the American zone? Some indications are at hand to justify doubt. In the matter of paper allowances, for example, the American zone has for a long time followed the stupid policy of allotting it on a party basis, and not on a percentage of circulation and readers. This has given the Communists supplies far greater than warranted by their numbers, while Catholics, who are a large majority in the zone, go begging. An official report from the Religious Affairs Branch of the American Military Government is due and ought to be forthcoming.

#### Soviets eye Spitzbergen

Soviet Russia's bid for military bases on the Arctic archipelago of Spitzbergen has created considerable concern among the United Nations members. The Moscow radio, in an authoritative statement on January 14, 1947, declared that the Paris Treaty of 1920, which gave Norway sovereignty over Spitzbergen, "cannot remain valid." It added that among the signatories there "were states which fought against the Allied Powers." One will recall that the treaty in question was signed by the United States, Great Britain, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Japan and Italy. It banned all military installations on the archipelago. Norway, as one of the signatories, was empowered to watch over the neutralized island. The Russians now claim that "an understanding" was reached on the necessity for joint defense of the island during Soviet-Norwegian negotiations in 1944 and 1945. The Russians admit that at the time "consultations with the Allied Powers regarding revision of the 1920 treaty were envisaged but not completed." Meanwhile the Norwegian Government indicates willingness to consider any possibility of treaty revision, providing that such would have full support of the original member-signatories. The Soviets argue that the island is of vital interest to the Soviet Union, since the external security of the Soviet state is involved. From a geographical and geopolitical viewpoint, Soviet bases on Spitzbergen would neutralize any possible American defensive bases in Iceland. Moreover, it is pointed out that a Soviet-dominated Spitzbergen would place Russian planes within easy range of America's Middle West industrial areas and of the strategic port zone of New York. It is expected that the American Government will adhere to the provisions of the 1920 Treaty which exclude any military installations on the Spitzbergen group. The British Government equally holds that the treaty will stand until revised by consent of all signatory Powers, except those who fought against the Allies.

#### Increased size of farms

The report on farm size, based on the 1945 census of agriculture and published in the January number of Agricultural Situation, is scarcely heartening. It seems that the average farm today is 50 acres larger than 25 years ago, and 20 acres larger than before the war. Over half the farm land of the country is in units of more than 500 acres, while farms over 1,000 acres now account for 40 per cent of the farm land, as against less than 25 per cent after World War I. The continuance of this trend will have very definite effects on agricultural production in our country. Labor complications can be expected as the mounting number of agricultural employes organize and demand decent wages and working conditions. Food prices must then increase, as labor will be a large item in industrialized agricultural production. Nor can crises in food production and distribution be avoided in a system wherein high specialization and heavy concentration reduce the non-farm population to dependence upon a decreasing number of large food producers. The growth

of the commercial spirit and exploitation of resources will not contribute to soil conservation. The family will suffer, as fewer and fewer families find a way of life on land which they own. Most of these possibilities have already been shown as proximate in that part of Senator Murray's report on small business which deals with the effect of farm size on two California communities.

#### Pius XII to our Catholic pupils

Christ's titanic redemptive work caught up within it seemingly smaller and homelier things-as when he gathered the little children to Himself and blessed them. The Holy Father, in his broadcast of Feb. 19 to the American children in our Catholic elementary schools, gave further proof that the spirit of Christ is still the spirit of the Church. He spoke in warm simplicity to the little children, urging them to a spirit of sacrifice during this Lent, to be shown by the "pennies and the dimes" they will save for their needy brothers abroad. But just as Christ's blessing of the children was part of His great work of redemption, so were the Pope's moving remarks an important extension of that same work, for on the health of today's needy children the world over depends the vigor of the social life of tomorrow which the Church will be working to sanctify. The simplicity of the Pope's phrases but underscored the desperateness of the need. Our children must be generous-our generosity must set them the example.

#### Background to "China's Destiny"

Space in our book columns this week prevented the reviewer of the twofold edition of *China's Destiny* from giving background material which is extremely interesting, and which substantiates our reviewer's judgment, arrived at independently, that the Roy edition is definitely communist party-line. The American China Policy Association in a release of Jan. 31 says:

According to the publishers [Roy] this translation was made by two young Chinese, both unknown to them, presumably residents of Yenan, the Chinese Communist capital. Introduction and commentary are by Philip Jaffe, New York Christmas-card manufacturer, publisher of Amerasia and visitor to China in 1937, just prior to the Sino-Japanese war. . . . Mr. Jaffe is also identified as the author of 10,000 words of footnotes. The publishers advise that the footnotes were edited by the communist "Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy." Mr. Jaffe, who has been identified for years with the American Communist Party, pleaded guilty to the theft of documents from the State and Navy Departments in 1945. . . . Neither Mr. Jaffe, nor Theodore White or Annalee Jacoby, who wrote the blurbs on the dustjacket, can read or speak Chinese, and therefore have no first-hand acquaintance with the original.

The Association, however, while deploring the "vicious extremism" of Jaffe's language, admits that the Roy edition is valuable as a revelation of the communist party line. We remark a trifle proudly, as a further background note, that America's reviewer, a missionary in China for several years, who plans to return soon, both reads and speaks Chinese.

## Washington Front

The trim, 62-year-old man standing behind the big desk in the executive office at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue pointed to a newly-found portrait of Lincoln and with pride and pleasure told newspapermen how it had been acquired for the government. Then he met a press-conference question about presidential politics head-on: he would continue to act as the agent of the American people without regard to his personal political fortunes.

Harry Truman was plainly a happy, confident President as 1947 moved toward March. Only six months ago, with an election coming on, every move he made seemed ill-fated or gauche. But now no longer did he shrink from the responsibility of the highest office in the land; rather he took his tasks more surely and resolutely than ever before. The polls showed he had come far from a low point in public acceptance last October. Forlorn Democratic politicians about Washington began to wonder if there might be some hope, after all.

Most observers dated the Truman upturn from the day he backed John L. Lewis into a corner on the coal strike. His wise comment, earlier, on the outcome of the election showed a statesmanship which did him no harm. He beat the Republicans to the draw in his Dec. 31 proclamation officially ending World War II hostilities. He was ahead of them again in moving to prevent the unauthorized use of public papers by departing Federal officials—an outgrowth of the Morgenthau diary affair. His appointment of General Marshall as Secretary of State brought him new favor—and he did not retreat on the Lilienthal issue.

The change in Mr. Truman's fortunes is set down chiefly to a post-election decision to "be himself." Up to that time he was caught in a welter of advice from political advisers who wanted only November victory. It had not come. Now Mr. Truman no longer sat in the White House solely as the wearer of another's mantle; he was to be his own man.

Nobody doubts that the President's situation will be difficult in many ways in the days ahead. Despite much talk of cooperation, it becomes steadily clearer that there will be fundamental conflicts between the executive and legislative branches on a wide range of issues—labor, the budget, taxes and foreign policy. But whereas the Republicans have lost a certain momentum in disagreements among themselves in these first two months of the new Congress, the Truman position, partly by reason of these GOP differences, has seemed to strengthen. He has been helped much by the fact that he has been able to knit his administration together more closely, too. For the moment, anyway, Washington has stopped playing the Missouri waltz as a dirge. Nobody doubts who will be the 1948 Democratic nominee.

CHARLES LUCEY

## Underscorings

Catholic convention, March 10-12: National Catholic Conference on Family Life, Chicago.

► The Commission for Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and Indians says in its report on 1946 that Negro conversions totaled 7,056 (compared with 5,900 in 1945); that the Negro Catholic population in the U.S. now stands at 321,995 (out of some 13,000,-000!), an increase of two and a half per cent; that 360 churches are maintained for missionary and pastoral work among Negroes, with 545 priests ministering to their needs—an increase of 17 churches and 32 priests; that there are now 283 Catholic schools for Negroes, staffed by 1,600 nuns, with an attendance of 62,294-an increase of 9 schools, 50 nun teachers and 4,129 pupils. Add to this statistical summary these interracial highlights of 1946: The bronze bust of Booker T. Washington, unveiled last May in New York Universty's Hall of Fame, was the work of the noted Catholic Negro sculptor, Richmond Barthé. . . . Xavier University of New Orleans, only Catholic higher institution for Negroes in the U. S., was added to the membership of the United Negro College Fund, which conducts an annual drive in support of 33 Negro colleges. . . . Competing against speakers from 18 high schools, Gordon Walls, only Negro

contestant in the annual Rockhurst High School Invitational Speech Tournament, Kansas City, Mo., won first prize and later was given a scholarship by Loyola University, Los Angeles,

Last April, 80 adult Negroes were baptized in St. Charles Borromeo Church, Harlem, N. Y. In this parish, whose pastor is Msgr. William R. McCann, nearly 6,000 Negro converts have been baptized in the past 13 years. All Catholic churches of Buffalo are open to Negroes, as Bishop John F. O'Hara, C.S.C. made plain last summer. . . . Several religious congregations received Negro postulants and novices for the first time in 1946, e.g. the Sisters of St. Mary of the Third Order of St. Francis, with headquarters in St. Louis, admitted three colored postulants; the Jesuit Novitiate at Florissant, Mo., admitted its first Negro novice; Sacred Heart Seminary, Detroit, admitted three Negro seminarians; two are studying for the Brooklyn diocese, etc.

Ebony, pictorial monthly for the colored, published in Chicago, devoted two articles and several full-page photographs to Catholicism and the Negro in its March, 1946 issue. One of the articles, by Claude McKay, Negro author, explained "Why I Became a Catholic." . . . Social Action Department, NCWC, conducted a four-day seminar, July 2-5, on "Negro Problems in the Field of Social Action," and published its recommendations under NCWC imprint. . . . Dr. Francis Monroe Hammond, Negro Catholic, was named head of the philosophy department of Seton Hall College, N. J. A. P. F.

## Editorials

### The peace ahead

Two years of armistice have not led to genuine peace nor to economic, social and political conditions favorable to it. Secretary of State George C. Marshall, soon to depart for Moscow to work out the future of Germany, describes the world's condition as "critical."

The threat of famine and hunger again overshadows much of the world. This is particularly true in China and regions of Europe which suffered heavily from the war: Germany, Poland, Ukraine, Western Russia, Austria, Rumania, Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece.

In war-damaged England the long-standing condition of the coal industry has led to a crisis which hampers industrial recovery and threatens a necessary program of export production. Most of the Continent also struggles with a fuel crisis, while industries languish and underfed people shiver in inadequately heated dwellings. Germany, about which much of continental industry long revolved, remains divided economically.

But the economic crisis is only part of the picture. Over a million displaced persons, whom immigration laws and plain selfishness keep from resettlement overseas, unhappily await their fate in Western Europe. Millions of other displaced persons, not recognized as such, are subjected to forced labor in the name of reparations. They are the prisoners of war who have not yet been sent home or the deportees who are assigned new "homes" by Russia. In the West, France holds 600,000 such prisoners of war to buoy up her manpower, while in the East millions work for Russia in forced-labor camps or as technicians in factories. Russia's avowed attitude toward refugees and displaced persons is one of intolerance. Regard for human rights is at a new low.

Political sore spots are so many that protestations of reestablished peace deceive no one. The new Poland, itself under a government whose legitimacy cannot be proved by the January 19 elections, has annexed a good portion of Eastern Germany, badly needed by that latter country to support the millions of *Volksdeutsche* dumped upon her by nations of Eastern Europe.

The native populations of the Baltic republics: Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, are being systematically liquidated and replaced, despite the fact that the United States and over thirty other countries refuse to recognize their conquest by the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia has already expelled the Sudetens and is now mistreating Hungarians within its borders, in spite of disapproval by Western Powers. The Czechoslovak State, drawn unwillingly into the Soviet orbit, cannot call its soul its own. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are apparently cooking up a Balkan bloc with Soviet approval, with Greece frozen out. Rumania and Hungary are confronted by economic

crises, unfavorable agreements forced upon them by Russia, and pressure from surrounding Slav States, from which they are ethnologically separated. In Scandinavia, Norway is impoverished and faces a mounting wave of pro-communist sentiment. Finland anxiously watches her Soviet neighbor, whose foreign policy, in the words of Mr. Acheson, is "an aggressive and expanding one."

In the Orient and Middle East, Palestine, India, Indo-China are all restive for various reasons. Manchuria does not belong to China in point of fact. China is struggling to find herself, but has a communist party at home, and two Soviet satellites, East Turkestan and Outer Mongolia, as neighbors. Korea is split by an iron curtain imposed by the occupying Russians in the northern half.

Fortunately Secretary of State Marshall goes to Moscow, alive to the realities of the situation. His statements to the Senate and House Foreign Affairs Committees, his policy statement of February 7, and the tenor of his note to the Kremlin regarding Mr. Molotov's objections to Under-Secretary Acheson's remarks before the Senate Atomic Energy Committee, all indicate that Mr. Marshall is not operating in an unrealistic atmosphere. He knows that many sore spots have origins in Moscow.

There cannot be peace with disunity, and disunity is inevitable so long as true democracy and the four freedoms are made impossible by arbitrary action. The United States, despite her limited understanding of world problems, wants peace and the things which make for peace. It is up to those who have created so many of the sore spots to prove they want it too. In no case can there be peace through appeasement.

## Towards answering the problems of women

Poor Eve is in the pillory again. There must be a scapegoat, apparently, on which to saddle the woes and tensions of our times, and it appears that many social thinkers have agreed, by an apparently unconscious conspiracy, that today's woman, and the domains wherein her influence is supreme, are primarily to blame.

Now, whether or not the lioness' share of the culpability rests with women, it is an undoubted fact that, by and large, something is wrong and has long been wrong, if not with women, then with a great deal of thinking about women and their responsibility in shaping modern life.

There is one indication, however, which bids us be heartened. Despite the inadequacies and even dangers in many of the answers proposed to solve the vexing problem, there does seem to be growing slowly the realization that, at bottom, the answer is a religious answer. On

Jan. 13, for example, the four speakers on WJZ's "Town Meeting of the Air," discussing the problem "What's Wrong with American Marriage?" were at one in agreeing that the root-difficulty is not economic or social, but spiritual. It is quite true that together with the spiritual aspirations there was a good admixture of quite naturalistic solution, but it is a triumph, if an embryonic one, to hear stated in public a truth that many marriage counselors a few years ago would have blushed to admit—that spiritual unpreparedness breaks up more marriages than does the skimpy pay-check.

However, in the satisfaction we naturally feel at this incipient change of face, there lurks a danger for Catholic thinkers and doers who have the good of American womanhood and homes at heart. That danger is that we will sit back rather smugly and say: "See, that is what we have been saying all along." Rather, now that the tide sways slightly toward our philosophy, must every effort be bent to reinforce the spiritual bases by the removal of economic and social factors that are often the occasion, if not the cause, of frustrated womanhood and broken homes.

Now is the time for Catholic effort to widen marriage-counseling services and to extend, wherever possible, active assistance in matters of housing, maternity care, foster-homes and so on. As we have had occasion to point out (cf. "To Combat Divorce," Aug. 31, 1946, p. 528, among others), such activities are happily growing; our attention has but recently been called to another splendidly conceived and active group, the St. Gerard Family Guild, of St. Mary of Mercy Church, Pittsburgh, which provides not only study of the spiritual bases of marriage, but provides for students' dowry funds and maternity benefits as well.

This way lies the answer to the "woman's problem." The truth, the spiritual truth about woman and marriage must be the bedrock, but on that bedrock must rest homes, security, assistance, guidance—all the practical manifestations that the truth is not fruitless.

### Cardinal von Preysing's visit

The very fact that Cardinal Conrad von Preysing, Bishop of Berlin, has come to this country in order to thank us for what has already been done here for relief in Germany, is a very urgent stimulus for us to get busy in order to do much more. It is encouraging to know that the War Relief Services—NCWC has participated in 26 out of the 40 shipments made to Germany by the Council on Relief Agencies (CRALOG). Out of a total of 24,529,356 pounds sent by CRALOG to Germany, 32 per cent, valued at more than \$2,500,000, was sent by War Relief Services—NCWC.

Anyone who has heard Cardinal von Preysing describe the misery he is daily compelled to witness will see how desperate a situation war has left behind it, and how prelific of despair. Some twenty or more persons come each day to the Bishop's house asking merely for a single slice of bread, and are overjoyed if they can obtain that much. After a full day's work, elderly employes walk the ash-heaps at night, looking for a few pieces of coal so they may keep from freezing. The flood of refugees who have streamed into already-overcrowded Berlin—there is a universal Wohnungsnot, or lack of habitation, says the Cardinal—are hopeless enough as a material problem. Their economic helplessness is increased by the great preponderance of women over men. Equally appalling is the spiritual or pastoral problem they present. The relatively few Catholic clergy who care for the greatly scattered faithful in the German diaspora—largely non-Catholic regions—had a difficult enough job even in the midst of peace. To reach the hordes of newcomers today, the clergy lack the barest of necessities, such as shoes or bicycle tires, for autos are out of the question.

In singling out Dr. Von Preysing for the cardinalate, the Holy Father paid recognition to the fact of his total and uncompromising protests against Hitler, nazism and all its works. His great pastoral letter of Christmas, 1942, resounded throughout the world, with its penetrating analysis of the nazi errors and his earnest warning against absorbing them. For, as he then concluded, "no great error makes itself manifest in the world, without leaving some impression upon the faithful children of the Church."

In twenty-eight different utterances, written or spoken, Dr. Von Preysing came to grips with the National Socialists, and the various Ministries of the Reich. In each of his protests he followed some simple, uniform procedure. He put briefly but exactly on record, chapter and verse, just what it was that the nazi authorities had either written or done. Then he noted precisely how this contradicted either the Concordat with the Holy See, or some public governmental statement or promise, thereby showing bad faith as well as hostility to the Church and to Christianity. He was content with straight, documentary fact, without rhetoric. In this fashion, for instance, he stigmatized the infamous film glorifying euthanasia, Ich klage an ("I Accuse"), and the stream of assaults upon the Catholic press, especially the incredibly diabolical and persistent calumnies of the Schwarze Corps and the endless streams of vilifying, often obscene, anti-Catholic and anti-religious pamphlets which issued from the Party's publishing houses. He kept the bishops posted on nazi propaganda and worked out a set of guiding principles for Catholic publications, noting the names of those which had been suppressed, as well as issuing a word of warning concerning a few which had been too accommodating to the Party line. Since every attack brought a protest, the Nazis eventually found it wiser to relax their campaign against the Catholic press.

In the midst of the present mental and moral confusion of the German people, the wide distribution of good literature, in the Cardinal's opinion, is of supreme importance. It is an irony of fate that at a time when paper is so badly needed in his area, it is so difficult to obtain it for religious purposes at least. Most of the paper factories are in Saxony, in the Russian zone.

Cardinal von Preysing's audiences during his brief stay in this country will meet in him a great bishop and a great man: a beacon light in Europe's storm.

### Decision on first amendment

In the recent Supreme Court case involving the New Jersey bus-transportation law, both the majority and minority opinions clearly highlight the fact that the real issue was whether the New Jersey statute violated the First Amendment. Thus Mr. Justice Black, who delivered the prevailing opinion of the Court, made short shrift of the argument (touching the Fourteenth Amendment) that the statute served a personal rather than a public purpose:

The fact that a State law, passed to satisfy a public need, coincides with the personal desires of individuals most directly affected is certainly an inadequate reason for us to say that a legislature has erroneously appraised the public need.

Thereafter Justice Black's whole concern is with the contention that the New Jersey statute is a "law respecting the establishment of religion," and as such violates the First Amendment. Even more directly, the dissenting opinion, written by Justice Rutledge, centers the issue on the First Amendment: "This case forces us to determine squarely for the first time what was 'an establishment of religion' in the First Amendment's conception; and by that measure to decide whether New Jersey's action violates its command."

In arriving at his decision on the constitutionality of the New Jersey statute in face of the Federal prohibition against "an establishment of religion," Justice Black views the First Amendment in its traditional historical perspective. But he sees as well "the difficulty in drawing the line between tax legislation which provides funds for the welfare of the general public and that which is designed to support institutions which teach religion." It is therefore improper to strike down a State statute "if it is within the State's constitutional power even though it approaches the verge of that power." For, inasmuch as the First Amendment also guarantees all Americans the "free exercise" of their religion, a law cannot exclude individual Catholics, Lutherans, Baptists, etc., "because of their faith, or lack of it, from receiving the benefits of public welfare legislation." And so "we must be careful, in protecting the citizens of New Jersey against State-established churches, to be sure that we do not inadvertently prohibit New Jersey from extending its general State law benefits to all citizens without regard to their religious belief." The First Amendment, indeed, "requires the State to be a neutral in its relations with groups of religious believers and non-believers; it does not require the State to be their adversary."

His conclusions follow logically:

Measured by these standards, we cannot say that the First Amendment prohibits New Jersey from spending tax-raised funds to pay the bus fares of parochial school pupils as a part of a general program under which it pays the fares of pupils attending public and other schools. . . . The State contributes no money to the schools. It does not support them. Its legislation, as applied, does no more than provide a general program to help parents get their children, regardless of their religion, safely and ex-

peditiously to and from accredited schools. . . . The First Amendment has erected a wall between Church and State. That wall must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve the slightest breach. New Jersey has not breached it here.

What is remarkable about this prevailing opinion is the clear and objective way in which it examines the one question in dispute: Does the New Jersey law violate 1) the due process clause of the 14th Amendment or 2) the non-establishment of religion clause of the 1st Amendment? While strongly reaffirming the genuinely American tradition as to separation of Church and State, it no less strongly rejects the walling-off, on religious grounds, of any religious group from the benefits of public-welfare laws.

#### Teacher trouble

The series of twelve articles on the Teacher Shortage, written by Benjamin Fine for the New York *Times*, February 10-21, raises further alarm over a critical and deplorable situation. Inadequate salaries, unsatisfactory teaching conditions, public disesteem of the profession, low morale among teachers—these are the factors that together are responsible for an unparalleled shortage of teachers.

Fine's six-month survey in the field turned up enough painful statistics to startle the most complacent. Over 350,000 teachers have left the public schools since 1940, and only 50 per cent of the teachers employed in the schools in 1940-41 are teaching today. Twenty per cent of all teachers, or 175,000, are new on their job each year—twice the turnover that existed before the war.

There is a consequent lowering of standards, as can be judged by the fact that today 125,000 teachers (one out of every seven) do not meet even the minimum requirements of their respective States. They hold substandard, emergency licenses; 60,000 have only a high-school education; another 100,000 have not gone beyond the first year of college, and 200,000 more have added but two years to their high-school diploma.

No alleviation can be hoped for from teachers' colleges. They too have shrunk in enrollment and in esteem. It is said that twenty-five years ago some 22 per cent of college students were in teachers' colleges; today only 7 per cent. Though a million veterans are in colleges this year, only 20,000 are enrolled in teachers' colleges.

What to do about it? Undoubtedly the first step is a raising of salaries. It will not solve all the difficulties, but it is the necessary first step. You cannot raise standards, public esteem or teacher morale until teachers all over the country get a living wage as the living wage is computed today. Threats of teacher strikes—in more than twenty cities to date—are making the public aware that the teachers are no longer meek and humble; they are joining labor unions as they never did before in their history. The public should wake up to the elementary fact that until the salary problem is satisfactorily met, improvement of education, even the continuance of education, is in jeopardy.

## Food in international trade

Howard R. Tolley

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> Executive Committee of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

(Article II in a symposium on world cooperation.) Most of the nations of the world are in general agreement that they must develop an expanding world economy if our present level of civilization is to endure. Not only must there be greater production and consumption within each country, but the fences of economic nationalism must make way for an ever-increasing world trade in agricultural and industrial products. The basic foodstuffs do raise problems of their own (we shall come back to that point a little later), but the starting point for solving them is the same general drive toward expansion that applies to all commodities.

During the 1930's the world got a good look at the consequences of economic nationalism. Both agricultural and industrial production had been greatly expanded during World War I, especially in the more highly developed countries. For a while, the pressing needs of rehabilitation and restocking kept demand at a high level. Little or no attempt, however, was made to open up new markets. Inevitably large surpluses accumulated. The great industrial giants of the world found that there was not enough purchasing power anywhere to absorb their output. Governments, instead of seeking international solutions of this problem, all too often turned toward self-sufficiency, and retired within the narrow stockades of economic nationalism.

Producers of certain commodities, such as wheat, tea and sugar, struggled toward international solutions for balancing production with existing levels everywhere. Great improvement in the well-being of the world's population would be reflected in increased world prosperity.

Most thinking people agree that existing trade barriers must be lowered, and channels of international trade freed, before any attempt to increase world food consumption can be successful. The United States of America took a substantial step towards lowering high tariff walls, as far back as 1934, in the Trade Agreements Act. After the passing of this Act, and up to 1939, the United States had already negotiated reciprocal agreements with 29 nations, with resulting benefits to United States prospetity. Further reciprocal reduction of tariff barriers for mutual benefit would tend to discourage economic and nationalistic trade-restriction practices the world over.

The principles of expanding trade apply equally to food as a leading commodity in world trade. But although food is a commodity of trade, it must be regarded as something more than that: it is a prime human necessity of life. Clearly, food cannot be regarded only from the standpoint of sale and purchase, and nations and families do not so regard it. Also, about two-thirds of the world's population depend on food-production for their livelihood. It is important that the incomes

of these families be as stable as possible and brought to a point that will allow adequate levels of living. Again, most countries recognize this need, and are doing something about it. This is the heart of the "farm problem" that was so serious in the '20's and '30's and can become serious again. In terms of human welfare, the need for the year-in and year-out production of sufficient food, at fair and stable prices, goes far beyond the usual trade considerations.

Fortunately there is no conflict between what needs to be done with food as a commodity in trade, and food as an essential of life and source of consumption, but the remedy they turned to most often was restriction of production, which only aggravated the problem. Cutting down on production while world hunger exists alongside unsalable surpluses of food was not and is not any real solution at all.

The situation at the end of World War II is uncom-



fortably close to the one the nations faced at the end of the first World War. Factory and farm production in countries outside the zone of devastation increased sharply during both wars, although the rise in the second war was far greater. In

the United States, for example, industrial production more than doubled, and farm production went up one-third. Now, as after the first war, there still is a huge demand for farm and factory products. War-ravaged countries need food; they need goods to restore their agriculture and industry. In more fortunate countries there is a great pent-up demand for peacetime products. But when these special demands are met, and Europe and Asia have resumed their own production, will there be markets for the world's great capacity to produce?

There is only one answer: to increase consumption. The world tried restricting production last time, and knows where it led.

In terms of human needs, there is plenty of room for expansion. This is particularly clear in the case of food. There has never been enough food in the world. The recent World Food Survey conducted by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) shows that over half of the world population was gravely undernourished, even in the "normal" period before World War II. The production, shipping, processing and retailing of more food would not only improve the health of the world population, but would contribute to the ideal of an expanding world economy.

The consumption of food is directly related to purchasing power. With full employment, rising incomes and high wages, consumption would rise above livelihood. World trade in food must flow more freely and in greater volume. This will in turn raise incomes and increase purchasing power for other products. The markets for increased production must depend upon the intensive development of poorly industrialized countries, and the creation of immense new outlets.

The additional food needed by the world's population comes to a staggering total. In the FAO's World Food Survey, estimates of prewar supplies in seventy countries were made in terms of calories. These calculations based on the prewar population of the individual countries show that:

1. In areas containing over half the world's population, food supplies at the retail level were sufficient to furnish an average of less than 2,250 calories per caput daily. (In the United States the average was 3,250.)

2. Food supplies furnishing an average of more than 2,750 calories per caput daily were available in areas containing somewhat less than a third of the world's population.

3. The remaining areas, containing about one-sixth of the world's population, had food supplies that were between these high and low levels.

But these averages do not reveal that even in those countries with the most liberal food supplies, and the highest caloric intake, a considerable part of the population is undernourished.

The Survey sets up targets for better nutrition. The targets have not been set on any luxury standards, nor do they call for the most desirable amount and combinations of foods in all countries. Far from being revolutionary, they aim at the modification of existing dietary patterns. The minimum target was a food supply of 2,600 calories a day, although a much higher average is thought desirable by many modern nutritional experts. For countries whose prewar supplies afforded diets of 2,600 calories or better, the targets aim at improving the quality and balance of diets, rather than raising the caloric intake. In practically all countries a general increase was sought in consumption of fats, fruits and vegetables, milk and meat, fish and eggs.

Increases in food supplies to meet these conservative goals would be tremendous. Within the next 25 years, allowing for expected increases in population, agricultural production would have to be doubled, in the less-developed countries.

There is no physical reason why sufficient food cannot be produced for all the people of the world. Advances in technology have made hunger unnecessary. New machinery can be introduced, and crop yields can be increased greatly through improved techniques in plant breeding, wider use of fertilizer, new methods of fighting diseases, and recent advances in soil-conservation practices. General improvements in livestock production, and in the processing, storing and shipping of food are also feasible.

With the development of new land, and the openingup of large areas of the world's land surface for cultivation, further increases in food production would be possible. The two great problems are to put the new technical knowledge into practice and to develop the purchasing power to enable people to buy the increased food production.

Fortunately, even before the Second World War was over, it became apparent that there was a basic desire among most nations to achieve these aims. This desire took definite shape in May, 1943 when representatives of more than forty nations met at Hot Springs, Virginia, for a Conference on Food and Agriculture. They had come together on the invitation of President Roosevelt. As a result of that meeting, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations was established two years later.

The purposes of FAO, as set forth in the preamble of its constitution, are "raising levels of nutrition and standards of living of the peoples under their respective jurisdiction, securing improvements in the efficiency of the production and distribution of all food and agricultural products, bettering the condition of rural populations," and by all of these means "contributing toward an expanding world economy." FAO was directed to work toward these goals by collecting, analyzing and making public the facts in its various fields, making recommendations to member governments and other international organizations, and giving technical assistance to governments requesting it.

All of these are long-range objectives. Yet, from the first, FAO, as the one permanent international agency in the field of food and agriculture, felt its responsibility for doing all it could to help nations solve pressing current problems and those that loomed ahead for the near future. Thus, when it became evident that the world food shortage of last winter and spring was going to continue for many more months, FAO called a special meeting in Washington, at which nations agreed on ways to combat the emergency. The same meeting, last May, was mindful of the danger that unsalable surpluses in the major food-producing countries might pile up quickly when the famine emergency ended. So the FAO Director-General was asked to work out proposals for a longrange world food program that would prevent both surpluses and shortages. Sir John Orr, the head of FAO, complied with the request, and submitted a report, Proposals for a World Food Board, to the annual conference of FAO last September in Copenhagen.

The Conference approved the objectives of the proposals, which it defined as "developing and organizing production, distribution and utilization of basic foods to provide diets on a health standard for the people of all countries and stabilizing agricultural prices at levels fair to producers and consumers alike." The Conference also called for establishment of a preparatory commission to work out definite recommendations for reaching the two objectives.

The Preparatory Commission on World Food Proposals, composed of delegations from seventeen nations and representatives of four international organizations, met at Washington in October, 1946, and finished its work in late January, 1947. S. M. Bruce, former Prime

Minister of Australia, who served as independent chairman of the Commission, termed the report "the most farreaching examination of the world's economic situation that has so far been made by representatives of governments."

It is important to note that, at the same time, concrete proposals were being drafted in London for an International Trade Organization of the United Nations, looking towards comprehensive international machinery for encouraging the progressive reduction of trade barriers, for the elimination of restrictive business practices and for action in the field of commodity policy.

Proposals of the ITO would set out a definite policy to be adopted toward restrictive business practices. Monopolistic controls, limited access to markets, and any business practices which restrain competition in international trade would be prevented, whenever such practices confine production and trade and limit the maintenance in all countries of high levels of income.

The two meetings, in Washington and London, thus were parts of the same general effort toward an expanding economy. Although the need for clearing away trade barriers was plain, it was also evident that most nations now are guaranteeing prices to farmers and regulating their share of international trade, and that many also are regulating food prices to consumers. Further, no change in this situation seemed likely, at least in the near future. That is, the "free world market," in the old sense, no longer exists. If production is to be increased and trade expanded, new methods must be found. The basic remedy, clearly, is expansion of employment and purchasing power through development of thus-far underdeveloped countries. The problem of price stablilization, it appeared, could best be solved by intergovernmental consultation followed, where desirable, by international commodity agreements.

There are many possible variations, but the Preparatory Commission on World Food Proposals agreed that whatever particular form commodity arrangements might take, they should be firmly based on genuine multilateral considerations. Their main objective should be to contribute towards the stablization of prices at levels fair to producers and consumers alike. They should discourage restriction of production and, wherever possible in such a complex problem, should assist countries to shift their production to areas where commodities could be most economically produced.

In the field of primary agricultural commodities, the Preparatory Commission recommended that commodity agreements of the future provide for famine reserves of storable products, and for additional price-stabilization reserves of products for which short-run price fluctuations were a major problem. Another important recommendation called for sales at special prices to countries that needed extra food but could not afford the commercial price. These sales would be made only to countries with definite programs for improving the nutrition of groups in special need.

The actual steps toward stabilizing prices and expanding trade, and also for general economic development throughout the world, must be taken by national governments, either singly or acting together. But international organizations can help greatly by initiating joint action and coordinating the efforts that are got under way. The Economic and Social Council has general international responsibility for the achievement and maintenance of useful and full employment at good wages for those who are willing to work. The Council must cooperate fully with the appropriate intergovernmental organizations concerned. And the specialized agencies of the United Nations have vital parts to play.

For instance, the Preparatory Commission recommended that the FAO conduct an annual review of the situations, programs and plans of member governments in the fields of agricultural production and nutrition. Thus each nation will have a picture of worldwide needs and what is being done about them, and will have the chance to adjust its own program accordingly. The Commission also recommended that FAO establish a World Food Council made up of representatives of eighteen governments, to follow up on situations throughout the year, initiate plans for commodity agreements if they seem to be needed and, in cooperation with ITO when it is established, coordinate the operation of agreements for agricultural products. Other specialized agencies would have their special roles. The International Bank, for example, could supply loans for needed economic development, for both agriculture and industry.

The setting-up of these specialized agencies indicates the beginning of integrated international action, not on the food and agricultural front alone, but in the whole field of economic affairs. Additional treatment to achieve these general aims depends on maximum support by each national government. There is grave danger, for instance, of some countries devoting all their available foreign exchange to the purchase of capital goods needed for reconstruction, leading to a policy of self-sufficiency and reduction of imports over a long period. Only careful international consultation and collaboration can avert the danger of a return of unmarketable surpluses of primary commodities, causing a catastrophic break in world prices.

The United States of America has a unique responsibility to the world in these economic problems. It also has a great opportunity to safeguard its own prosperity. United States production, already immense before the war, has been greatly expanded. Ravaged European countries are urgently in need of American goods. If those goods can be supplied under a sound financing pattern, and development of the less-developed countries fostered along lines acceptable to all nations, trade can be kept flowing, and there can be greater prosperity and security throughout the world and a continuing and expanding market for the goods and services of the United States and other highly developed countries.

The successes of the United States policy at such international conferences as the World Food Preparatory Commission, and their contribution towards the formation of the International Trade Organization, show that the Government has a real appreciation of the dangers of another economic war and knowledge of the positive steps necessary to prevent this. And, more and more, the individual citizens in all walks of life are coming to appreciate the problems and the need for positive action in cooperation with other nations.

The place of food and agriculture in the whole world economy is now widely recognized, and the beginnings of integrated international action on the agricultural front can be clearly seen. With cooperation and goodwill the various governments, assisted by and working through FAO, can raise levels of nutrition and standards of living of all peoples, thus contributing to an expanding economy and creating on this planet a common home for mankind.

## An international bill of human rights

Tibor Payzs

Tibor Payzs, Doctor of Jurisprudence from the University of Budapest, was formerly connected with the International Labor Organization in Geneva. Dr. Payzs came to the Americas at the time of the Havana

Americas at the time of the Havana Conference, and is now teaching political science at the U. of Detroit.

That the human person in society has inalienable rights has always been recognized by Christian moralists. Formal bills of rights, however, have been the achievements of politically mature peoples who strove to safeguard the free exercise of their inalienable rights against the caprice of a tyrant—"to the end that it may be a government of laws and not of men."

It should be a welcome sign of general progress that the rights of man everywhere are coming to be the common concern of those governments and peoples who have regard for the human person. This is well indicated in such an authoritative statement as that of Mr. Stettinius—then Secretary of State of the United States—who remarked in May, 1945 at San Francisco: "As long as rights and freedoms are denied to some, the rights and freedoms of all are endangered."

The movement for an International Declaration on Human Rights is substantial and is rapidly increasing. Historically, perhaps, it is motivated by reaction against the totalitarian systems over which the recent victory was won and which represented a denial of the dignity of the human person. Perhaps it is also motivated by the sincere desire of the West to liberate a large portion of human society from an atheistic and materialistic social philosophy, to which some men acquiesce only because of ignorance or compulsion.

The present preoccupation with human rights and fundamental freedoms does not seem to be flowing from the individualistic thought of nineteenth-century bourgeois liberalism, for, apart from the conservative rights (civic and political rights, such as freedom of speech or religious worship, equality before the law or property rights), the more progressive rights (economic and social rights, like the right to proper conditions of labor, to social security, to health measures) are also a matter of general concern. The gradual recognition of these progressive rights is the product of a more recent epoch of social welfare.

Christians are not without guidance as to what should be properly considered the rights of man. Several social encyclicals and other pronouncements of the Popes leave no doubt on the matter. An especially clear enumeration of personal rights may be found in the 1942 Christmas message of Pope Pius XII:

He who would have the star of peace shine out and stand over society . . . he should uphold respect for, and the practical realization of, the following fundamental personal rights: the right to maintain and develop one's corporal, intellectual and moral life, and especially the right to religious formation and education; the right to worship God in private and public and to carry on religious works of charity; the right to marry and to achieve the aim of married life; the right to conjugal and domestic society; the right to work, as the indispensable means toward the maintenance of family life; the right to free choice of a state of life, and hence, too, of the priesthood or religious life; the right to the use of material goods, in keeping with his duties and social limitations.

The Christmas message of 1944 also declares the fundamental political rights of a citizen in a democracy:

To express his own views of the duties and sacrifices that are imposed on him; not compelled to obey without being heard: these are two rights of the citizen which find in democracy, as its name implies, their expression.

While the rights of the human person are fundamentally universal and invariable, changing conditions make specific elaborations desirable, with particular attention to economic and social rights in our own age. This is reflected in the teachings of such a philosopher of the Thomist tradition as Jacques Maritain who, in his The Rights of Man and Natural Law, enumerates the rights of the human person as such, the rights of the civic person and the rights of the social person and, more particularly, of the working person.

In the last two decades several organizations of unofficial character have made suggestions for the uniform adoption by all members of the society of nations of an International Declaration of the Rights of Man. The Institute of International Law, for one, adopted such a Declaration in 1929; in 1943, the American Law Institute appointed a Committee to draft a Statement of Essential Rights. Other organizations have also undertaken the task. The most recent unofficial International Bill of Human Rights was prepared and adopted by the Executive Committee of the Committee on Human Rights of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace.

Official international organizations also have made declarations recognizing the inviolability of the human

person and the rights proper to human dignity. Some of these international organizations, however, have limited functions or are confined to a definite geographical region of the globe.

The International Labor Organization is such an agency with a limited scope of functions; its Philadelphia Charter was drafted in 1944. Lasting peace, the ILO declares, can be established only if based on social justice. And, further:

All human beings, irrespective of race, creed and sex, have the right to pursue their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity.

The attainment of these ends must be the central aim of national and of international policy, according to the

Concerning human rights in the hemispheric scene, the system of American republics is a regional arrangement. The American republics held their Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace at Mexico City in February, 1945. Abiding by a resolution of this conference, the Inter-American Juridical Committee submitted on December 31, 1945 a Draft Declaration of the International Rights and Duties of Man to the Governments of the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. The Draft Declaration contains twenty-one articles dealing with human rights, civil rights, economic and social rights. It is accompanied by a Report which states:

The protection of the fundamental rights of men in every land may be regarded from two distinct points of view. In the first place, it is an essential condition of friendly cooperation between nations. . . . In the second place, the protection of the fundamental rights of man within each state is part of the larger objective of developing the individual human being as a free, self-reliant and responsible member of the international community. . . .

In the larger, world sphere a purposeful development is shaping for international protection of human rights and for the drafting of an international bill of rights within the framework of the United Nations. The Charter of the UN was drafted at the San Francisco Conference, officially the United Nations Conference on International Organization, from April 25 to June 26, 1945. Some delegations, particularly those of Cuba, Panama and Uruguay, suggested the immediate adoption by the Conference of a Declaration of the Rights and Duties of the Individual, or a Charter of Mankind. At that time, however, it was found feasible not to go beyond some general statements regarding human rights in the Charter. So, among the purposes of the United Nations, the desire is included to achieve international cooperation "in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." Similar preoccupation with human rights recurs at several other points in the Charter.

The implementation of human rights laid down in the Charter is entrusted primarily to four of the six principal organs of the United Nations—that is, to the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the Secretariat. Actual work falls most heavily on the Economic and Social Council, which has a Commission on Human Rights, with sub-commissions on the Protection of Minorities, on the Prevention of Discrimination (on grounds of race, sex, language or religion) and on Freedom of Information and of the Press. There is also a Commission on the Status of Women. The responsibilities of other Commissions of the Economic and Social Council consider human welfare, but are perhaps less directly concerned with human rights.

The General Assembly has authority over both the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council. Among the several standing committees of the General Assembly, one of them, the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee (third committee), is to give assistance toward the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In addition, the activities of several departments of the Secretariat of the United Nations are related to human rights. The Secretariat is now working on the compilation and publication of a Year Book on law and usage relating to human rights.

It is obvious from the above account that there is no lack of organization within the UN for the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the future adoption of a Declaration of the Rights of Man. Consequently the attainment of the goal—the regard for fundamental human rights everywhere—is more of a political than an organizational problem.

But the United Nations is not a world government. It is an organization of sovereign states. Its authority is limited. It is not "to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." After the adoption by the members of a Declaration of the Rights of Man it still will be primarily the task of sovereign governments to interpret and promote such rights.

The adoption of the Declaration will certainly be followed by international machinery to which individual persons or groups of persons may have recourse in case their rights are encroached upon by their own governments. The actual machinery may be in the form of an International Court of Human Rights. The difficulties, however, of such appeals to an international arbiter are quite obvious. Those persons, especially, who are living under governments not genuinely democratic may face hardships. The history of international relations is not without precedents in this respect. After World War I the Minorities Protection Treaties were signed between Central European and Balkan States on one side, and the principal Allied and Associated Powers on the other. Obligations were undertaken in these treaties concerning the rights of minorities. The Council of the League of Nations was charged with the supervision. The project as a whole was not a success. Neither was the guarantee of certain fundamental rights of the backward peoples under the Mandate System of the League of Nations a success. The limited achievements of these experiments

in the international protection of human rights may serve, however, as valuable lessons for the future.

Naturally, the Declaration must be adopted first. A substantial advance toward this end took place quite recently, the credit for which goes to two good neighbors, Cuba and Panama. In London, on February 12, 1946 the Cuban Delegation submitted to the First Part of the First Session of the General Assembly of the UN a Draft Declaration on Human Rights. In New York, on November 26, 1946 the Panama Delegation submitted to the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly an International Declaration of the Fundamental Rights of Man.

The General Assembly unanimously resolved on December 11, 1946 to refer the Draft Declaration of Panama to the Commission on Human Rights of the Economic and Social Council. The Commission on Human Rights convened on January 27, 1947 at Lake Success and is at present in session.

The Draft Declaration submitted by Panama is based on one of the drafts of the unofficial organizations, the Statement of Essential Human Rights, prepared by a committee appointed by the American Law Institute. This Statement enumerates, in eighteen articles: freedom of religion; freedom of opinion; freedom of speech; freedom of assembly; freedom to form associations; freedom from wrongful interference; right to a fair trial; freedom from arbitrary detention; freedom from retroactive laws; right to own property; right to education; right to work; right to reasonable conditions of work; right to adequate food and housing; right to social security; right to take part in government; right to equal protection of the laws, and a Statement on the Limitations on these Rights by the Rights of Others.

In the fourth century the Bishop of Hippo, Augustine, spoke of the human person as a member of the home and of the state and of the world. The latter he called the "third circle of human society." The adoption of a Declaration of Human Rights by the member states of the United Nations will bring mankind closer to the realization of a world society of human persons politically organized.

## Russians in Hungary

Anne Montgomery Drake is the pen name of a native of Hungary whose first experience of Soviet rule came during the five-month Soviet regime in 1919. After 18 months of further Russian rule, following World

Anne Montgomery Drake War II, she escaped last summer.

The Red Army took Hungary in the winter of 1944-45. During the first months of the occupation two overwhelming fears pushed into the background all such minor issues as starvation, wholesale looting, typhus, cold, unburied dead. These two fears concerned rape and slave labor.

Rape was organized and wholesale, permitted by the High Command as a reward for fighting. Apartment houses were surrounded by soldiers with tommyguns and transformed for a night into brothels. There was practically no hiding place; for attics, cellars, elevator-shafts and coal-bins were searched too. Our neighbor, a Pole, who spoke good Russian and dared to protest as an "ally" for the sake of his fiancée, got three shots through his eye. His corpse was made to sit up on the couch and one eye glared at five soldiers taking possession of his girl in presence of the family. Other Comrades played the harmonica and sang to the performance. After this there was no resistance in the house. Few houses in Budapest escaped a similar fate. This lasted about two months after the occupation.

Another paramount fear was due to the herding away of men between 18 and 50 for forced labor. The Russians took civilians from their homes or surprised them on the street, herded them into bombed-out shops and marched them in batches of 50 to 100 off to the concentration camps. There was Gödöllö near Budapest, a transit camp with about 50,000 deportees; Szolnok and Cegléd with 100,000 each, and some others. Once a man entered a camp, his identification papers were taken away, destroyed; and he was given only a number. This

was a precaution against relatives trying to get him out by bribing the guards. As food in these camps consisted only of dried peas or beans without any fats, a great number of the inmates died of dysentery. After weeks or months, the rest were shipped towards Russia in locked freight-cars with barbed-wired windows.

Life in Soviet forced-labor camps-for Russians, too, -lasts no longer than a couple of years at best. This policy of deportation, however, did not bear any signs of vengeance or hate. The guards, in their Asiatic way generally apathetic to human suffering and death, were not wilfully cruel. In the beginning stages of the transportation, during the marching towards the camps, escapes were not difficult, because of the indolence of the guards. Batches of sick or even healthy deportees were let loose without any special reason. They reappeared in the midst of their families with a joy bordering on insanity. Deportation for slave labor took place for two reasons: economic necessity and a policy of eliminating the virile elements capable of resistance. As I watched the Russians handling deportees, I did not think it was an unusual affair for them.

I was able to witness another interesting performance a few weeks after the occupation. The finest hotels and other prominent buildings, after having been looted, were burned by the Russians, although they were in need of good quarters themselves. A frank Communist friend of mine gave me this explanation: the fighting troops did it on orders, so that the subsequent occupation forces, accompanied by their families, should not be impressed by the blessings of capitalist civilization.

Many of the Russian soldiers had never seen a toilet before. They used it for washing their faces. One of them washed potatoes in it. After a while he ran out to the landlady and shouted: "It's no good! I wanted more water and pulled the handle . . . and all the potatoes went down!" When they occupied the village in which I had been living for a while, they went into the poorest huts, where they had been awaited as liberators from the capitalist regime. When the Russians saw the beds and quilts, they shouted: "What? Beds? Quilts? You are burzhui (capitalists)" and drove away the women and looted. The hut-dwellers were cured of communism.

Some of the Russians, especially the older ones handling army supplies, had likable, good-natured faces. They gave bread to the hungry people. The younger ones, however, mostly had a soulless, empty expression. I noticed that they showed no interest in the faces of the people they passed on the street, but looked at the packages they carried or at their shoes.

About one-fifth of the soldiers were females. Most of them were brought up in state institutions. They were, nearly without exception, incredibly short and stocky,

maybe because since childhood their food consisted of hardly anything but potatoes, dried beans and peas, cabbage and beets. In the barracks the men and women were quartered together. It was hard to discover any human expression in the hard, blank faces of these women. Some of them had several watches on their wrists,

which they had acquired in the conquered countries. Later the families of the officers arrived. These women were of a much better kind, some of them attractive and good-looking. After a year the occupation forces were changed. The new ones came mostly from Germany and Austria, and were generally of a higher quality, more civilized and more disciplined.

Stalin's picture is everywhere. Trucks, tanks, bridges, shop-windows, without exception, carry their huge portraits, taken from the same angle. When the Hungarian "government" installed a luxurious officers' mess for the Russians, the surprise was a glorious mural of Stalin. After they drew back the veil, the Russian general became embarrassed and said: "I am sorry, but the mural has to come off." The government delegation looked bewildered. "I am sorry," he continued, "but only the official version of Marshal Stalin's picture is permitted." At mess each higher officer has an orderly standing behind his chair for prompt service. Among the top brass—a number of them of the Tsarist regime—one sees intelligent, civilized faces. Marshall Voroshiloff is a man with perfect manners and an attractive personality.

By and by the Hungarian puppet government came into the foreground and took over the task of Sovietization. The real power was in the hands of three men: Rákosi, Gerö and Vass. All were born Hungarians, but are Soviet citizens with years of training in Russia. Rákosi and Vass also have the rank of colonels in the Russian army.

The first Sovietization we experienced was when our apartment house, like all others, got a "house-commander." This was a Communist Party member living in the house. His job was to keep an eye on the rest of the tenants. It took nearly a year to clear away the debris of the siege of Budapest. This was done by compulsory labor, and it was the house-commander who picked the people for this work. It was he who assigned the ration cards, by judging in which category the tenant and his family belonged—the lowest being about 600 calories daily, the highest over 3,000. (The Office of Hygiene forecast that during the winter of 1946-47 most "bourgeois" over 60 will die of starvation or disease.) It was decided also by the joint opinion of the "Housing Office" and the house-commander whether a tenant had the right to stay in his apartment, whether he had to take in other people to live with him, etc. Once our housecommander got angry and punished the six-floor apartment house by locking the entrance door on a Sunday morning and not letting anyone leave till 4 p. m. If he reports anyone to the political police, the accused disappears and, even if found not guilty, comes out of jail

after a month or two in such a state that he can hardly drag himself home. At 121 Ullöi Street, when the election day came, 78 non-Communist voters were warned by the house-commander not to leave the house. They did not. The situation, however, was not always so bad. Many of these house-commanders only pretend to be Com-

munists, and have secretly collaborated with the tenants to sabotage the orders of the regime.

Many of the lower-rank Communists were former Nazis. The head forester of the village where I lived for a time was commander of a Jewish forced-labor batallion during the Nazi regime. When the Russian armies drew nearer, he was terrified and prepared to flee. But then he told me he had made up his mind to stay, as he spoke some Russian and hoped to pass muster. A year later I visited the village. He was head of the local Communist Party, and forced the Catholic village to vote for his ticket. When I looked at him in bafflement, he laughed at me. But fate punished him: his only child, a boy of 18, was taken to Russia for slave labor. Though he had the influence to get him out, and did everything to save the child he adored, he could not find him, as nobody knew the number of the boy. Another man, a half-German, came to our home in the village during the Nazi regime, requisitioned the house for a German company and boasted of being a direct subordinate of Goebbels. Later, during the Soviet regime, he became the organizer of the Communist transportation system. In many cases former Nazis, when they joined the Communist ranks and were given a good job, had to sign a list of their crimes, which was put on file in case they did not loyally support the Red political or military machine.

There is plenty to do. The great war industries which had been established by the Germans in Hungary to escape American bombing are now humming 24 hours a day for the Russian Army. Every expert and skilled worker is drafted or taken at night from his home to work in these industries, either in Hungary or in Russia. The workers are paid comparatively well, but they cannot leave their jobs. The Russians do not care whether the one who pushes the military and political machine is a former Nazi or a Jew. They are interested only in having their policies carried out.

Although the Russian as a person generally dislikes Germans and Jews alike, in his vision of the world-saving Communist creed and Russian supremacy he does not bother with such petty problems. It was startling to hear naïve Russian soldiers say: "We took Budapest, Vienna, Berlin; later will come Paris, then London and, in the end. America." When we answered: "But the ocean is great . . ." they showed a childish confidence: "Oh, there will be help from inside. And we will free

them from their capitalist oppressors."

The soldiers are deeply grieved if people do not acknowledge the superiority of Soviet-Russian culture. They did not loot the marvelous Franciscan Church in Budapest, because one of the monks shouted at the soldiers: "Is that what you call Russian culture?" And in a good-natured way they patted the monk. Some of them talked to him; there were a few young ones who had never heard of Christ. In the beginning of the occupation we even saw, during Mass at the Franciscan church, some Russians standing there amazed at the sight, but later, as if by command, it seemed, they never entered a church.

Soviet policy towards Catholicism, which is the religion of the majority in Hungary, was first one of noninterference. As a rule, the Russians did not disturb the monasteries or the flourishing school system but demanded that the clergy support, or at least not criticize, the Communist measures. When, however, Cardinal Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary, condemned in a pastoral letter-though not mentioning Communists or Russians-slave labor, the despoliation of even the poor, mass-rape, the atheistic youth movement and the divorce law based only on consent, the hunting of the clergy started. The Russians did not arrest Cardinal Mindszenty, as all knew he had been in a Nazi concentration camp and so could not officially be accused of being a Fascist (the Red press calling him only "reactionary"), but mass arrests of priests by the political police began. Bishop Kriszton was arrested, allegedly for an article written years ago in which he criticized atheism in the Communist doctrine, and was put for several months in the casement of the medieval fort of Eger. The political police released him after he had been beaten severely on the head with a rubber hose. He is now simple-minded. Hundreds of priests have been tortured, deported or killed. Some priests, like a young friend of mine who was considered a radical and socialist during the old regime, now are hiding with supposedly Communist families.

On the first of May, 1946, the Government arranged a Red demonstration of great proportions. It was to show allegiance of the masses to the Soviet regime. Every factory-worker, office-worker and employe of schools and associations had to be at his place of work at nine in the morning. After the roll-call, they were given freeand in great quantities—the incredible luxuries of white bread, sausages and beer. When they became spirited, they were set to march in rows of nine, accompanied by music and police. They were told that if even one in the row was missing, the rest would be deprived of their ration cards. The papers claimed that there had been 400,000 demonstrators marching in solid formation for the Red cause.

No demonstration of other parties is allowed. Religious processions, which in the past were a custom, also have been forbidden; but at Cardinal Mindszenty's request the priests announced in the churches a pilgrimage for men, not in a body, but to be undertaken individually, to the shrine of the Blessed Mother at several hours distance outside of Budapest. It was to be on the fifth of May. From early morning I saw men in the streets strolling westward, one by one or in small groups. Outside the city limits, 140,000 men gathered in orderly lines. White banners of the Blessed Mother were raised and, at eleven. Mass was celebrated by Cardinal Mindszenty at the pilgrim shrine. They prayed for a just peace for Hungary. People were nonplussed when they saw the Calvinist parish also marching to the shrine; formerly the Calvinists of Hungary had a vivid dislike for the Catholic Church. But a joke went round in Budapest: "There is only one man in Hungary, and he wears skirts. Do you know who he is?" "Yes. Cardinal Mindszenty." His name is magic these days in Hungary.

The Government saw that it had to take further measures than the arrest of priests. Out of every high school, dozens of children were put in jail and beaten by the political police in order to get them to sign statements against their teachers-mostly priests-accusing them of having spoken against Sovietism. All religious associations and youth groups were prohibited and replaced by Communist organizations.

Through the printing of unlimited quantities of paper money, the inflation reduced the buying power of the currency to less than a billionth. Families were driven out of their homes wholesale. By such means the independence of the individual was to be wiped out so that the people would be wholly at the mercy of the totalitarian state.

The political police—the Hungarian NKVD—works day and night. More and more of the people I know are disappearing. They have heard the knock on the door at night. In case the Russian Army should have to leave the country, 100,000 Hungarian Red shock troopers are in readiness to support the puppet government. There is only a Red press and there are only Red radio programs. The atom bomb is ridiculed; the Western democracies are depicted as rotten, selfish and disintegrating, incapable of any moral or physical effort. Day and night Eastern Europe hears: "Do not put your hope in the West!"

But there is still hope in the eyes of the Hungarian

## Literature & Art

#### Dublin letter

The Irish Book Season promises well for 1947. After a dearth of literary activity among Irish authors, not entirely due to the difficulties which Irish publishers had to face during the emergency (for there also seemed an apathy among writers), the number of interesting books now is surprising.

The most hopeful sign for the book world is the number of small publishing firms which have sprung up during the past months. Of these the Kerryman, with headquarters in Tralee where the famous old newspaper of the same title is published, is the most enterprising. Several excellent books from the Kerryman appeared this season. They are well produced, a relief from the poor paper and bindings coming from our presses for some time. Of particular interest are The Irish Theatre, by Dr. Peter Kavanagh (Kerryman); Lady Gregory's Diaries, edited by Lennox Robinson (Putnam); Memories, by Stephen Gwynn (Kerryman); Life of James Connolly the Labor Leader (Kerryman); Michael Caravan, a novel by Brindsley MacNamara (Talbot Press) and the Capuchin Annual, edited by Father Senan, O.M. Cap. and Father Gerald, O.M.Cap. (Capuchin Publishers). Dr. Peter Kavanagh in The Irish Theatre has accomplished a solid and documented work on the theatre in Ireland from the earliest ages. In fact, the book has been criticized as over-documented on the one side and incomplete in his survey, especially on the Anglo-Irish theatre of the eighteenth century, a period when the stage in Dublin and Kilkenny vied with London. But as a survey of the drama in Ireland it is a most useful and scholarly production and will be welcomed in American Universities and by students of the theatre everywhere.

For some years Lennox Robinson has been engaged in editing the Diaries of Lady Gregory. This famous Irishwoman, who played an important part in the early struggles of the Abbey Theatre, made her home in Ireland at Coole Park, Co. Galway. It was the gathering place of all interested in Irish cultural movements. She lived among the people, knew their folklore and stories, was a great nationalist and Gaelic scholar, loved her people and was concerned for their welfare. She kept her diaries as conscientiously as Mr. Robinson has edited them, and if there is any criticism of the book it might be that that the editor might have omitted many trivialities. But it is delightful reading and will be read with interest by Americans who know her work for the Irish drama and her amusing comedies, so popular in the United States.

Michael Caravan, Brindsley MacNamara's new novel, is a comedy of Irish life, written with that quiet humor for which the author and dramatist is noted. It deals

with no problem and has no propaganda or message. It is a simple story, set in his native County Meath; it is very amusing as it tells the tale of two sisters, God-fearing old ladies living alone and unacquainted with the outside world. Into this little home comes a heart-broken and apparently soul-weary young woman from the big world. She invents a story of her imaginary life and an imaginary sweetheart, a poet and playwright, Michael Caravan, and she insists that his birthplace was somewhere in the neighborhood. She acts the part delightfully and impresses the old women who, through her, get a glimpse of another existence. She then departs, leaving the story of the house's reputation to the old women, whose income grows considerably through her invention. It is a charming little story, written so well that it fairly bubbles with quaint and humorous situations.

The Capuchin Annual is always awaited with interest, and this year the editor has excelled with his great volume, well-illustrated with photographs but particularly with the charming little etchings by Father Gerald. Short stories for which the annual is noted, articles of great interest and poems by young writers are excellent, but the most striking contribution of the year is that devoted to the memory of Count John McCormack. The Editor has secured a series of tributes from his many friends, chiefly in the musical world, which include interesting and illuminating stories of the Irish tenor's career. The large volume is one of the outstanding books of the season.

Kathleen O'Brennan

#### Paris letter

An inquiry among the principal libraries of Paris and the Provinces on books that had the largest sales in 1946 resulted, it strikes me, in bringing to light a fairly significant indication of the current reading taste of the French public, Le Zéro et L'Infini of Koestler (published in English under the title, The Commissar and the Yogi) headed the poll, followed by Souvenirs d'un Agent Secret, by Rémy, which, together with Le Sacrifice du Matin, by Guillain de Benouville, gave the noblest picture of the real resistance during the occupation years. After these, there followed Jesus en son Temps, in which Daniel Rops has made the life and times of Christ available to a large public-the book is close to reaching a run of 200,000 copies, which, in the field of religious literature in France, is a record. Two books, which appeal to an élite and whose quality seems to assure them a long life, have as well been great successes. The first is the Journal of Charles Du Bos; the second, the Journal of Julian Green.

Charles Du Bos, we know, found in the United States a most assuring acclaim and the stimulus of a wide and

ardent audience at the most difficult period of his life. His Journal, which will be continued, reflects the evolution of his thinking, which led him to a complete adhesion to Catholic truth; it opens up many suggestive refinements of thought and many moving revelations. "Religious" in all his attitudes, Du Bos was for a long time moved by an exaggeration alien to the true faith. But at the unoccupied abbey of Pontigny, where the international conference of writers met almost every year, he experienced the impact that decided him. The details of this are found in the Journal; evident, too, is the basis that sustained the relationship this critic-creator maintained with such spirits as Bergson, Valéry and Gide. It is no exaggeration to say the Journal is a work that is essential for an understanding of contemporary literature.

The Journal of Julian Green is of a totally different character, but it is none the less interesting. As a matter of fact, this is the third volume of the Journal, by the author of Mont-Cinère; the two preceding appeared before the war. This one takes on a particular importance because it climaxes and resolves tendencies and aims that showed up but obscurely in the earlier volumes. It was reading St. Catherine of Genoa and his friendship with Jacques Maritain (who was also a brother in soul to Du Bos) which brought Green into the bosom of the Church whose threshold he had haunted nostalgically. His writing is the soul of discretion, of reticence and modesty. He speaks to us less about the state of his soul than he informs us about America. He is bound to that country by ties of blood, but he keeps a deep regard for France, which nurtured him. His Journal seems to me to be one of the best treatments of the spiritual unity of the two countries. The secret of his power to illuminate, I think, springs from his constant care to affirm the essentials of beings and things. He has a divining intuition that carries him always to the heart of the mystery.

Books that count are rare, what with excessive publication and a public that deludes itself and lets itself be abused. There has been so much disturbance over the veritable riot of publication that, a few months ago, a group of critics of independent judgment (it included such names as Robert d'Harcourt, Gabriel Marcel, Daniel Halévy, Henri Gouhier and Gaétan Bernoville), began publishing, under the title *l'ai Lu*, a periodical which points out and studies the most important French works.

The year 1947 opened with the publication of an impressive novel, Les Reins et les Coeurs, by a hitherto unknown author, Paul-André Lesort. It is a Catholic work, but any purpose of edification has been played down in favor of realistic faithfulness, through whose transparency Providence shines out. M. Lesort does not judge his characters, but dwells with a spirit of brotherhood on their destiny and lights up their acts with a high intensity. His theme runs along these lines: the renunciation of a woman who wants to cement to herself her husband's fidelity; this she does by resolving to be a mother, though she foresees that her maternity will mean her death. Around this central drama, others cluster. M. Lesort, who wrote this book as a prisoner of war, re-

captures in it a familiar, quotidian world, with a wealth of detail that is almost Proustian. The book reveals, together with a gripping illustration of the doctrine of the communion of saints, an accurate picture of the tastes and aspirations of the young French generation of today. The book will arouse strong judgments; it deserves a wide public. Its style, which seems to me to be heavy and complicated, can be debated; but its authority, as of one who writes from his racial inheritance, cannot fail to be felt.

Louis Chaigne.

#### Supper at Bethany

Now voices span the house, that speech may be A bridge to reach his heart. But listen! under Neighborliness: a tongue in Bethany
That forks itself. To separate. To sunder.
Writhing along the road from Jerusalem,
The whispers hiss. What phrase will frame and utter A woman's strategy to vanquish them?
What word will come to him above the mutter?
All women know. It is the word not spoken—
The only word I fear. What do I guard
Against the heart's last folly? . . . the gift too hard
To give just now . . . the hidden feminine token
Which I may need. . . . More than a box lies broken,
That night and I may speak to him in nard.

SISTER MARY ST. VIRGINIA

#### Variation on an old theme

For that He was a carpenter they nailed Him to a cross, For that He was a teacher they smote Him with His staff, For that He talked with Publicans they played at pitch and toss.

Diced for His coat, and parched Him, and gave Him gall to quaff.

For that He was a kingly wight they crowned Him with a briar,

For that He was a poor man they stripped Him of His clouts,

For that He was a just man they mocked at Him with flouts,

For that He was of gentle speech they hung Him up with louts,

And fleered Him, and jeered Him, and speared Him for a liar.

There isn't much that we can do that wasn't done before By way of jibe and insult except to smirch His race: To club His brother Judah, name His sister Rachel whore, And smash them down with truncheon and spit into their face.

In Dachau and in Buchenwald and Hotel Grosvenor, In Harvard Club and private bar off Piccadilly Place, Not for that He is God alone we stir the bitter brew, But for that less atonable thing, for that He is a Jew.

CHARLES A. BRADY

### Books

#### Chiang's encyclical

#### CHINA'S DESTINY

By Chiang Kai-shek. Authorized Translation. Macmillan. 260p. \$2.75

Edition with Notes and Commentary by Peter Jaffe. Roy Publishers. 347p. \$3.50

China's Destiny may be described as an encyclical addressed by President Chiang Kai-shek to the Chinese people in early 1943 when China was freed from the unequal treaties that, for a century, had held her in a humiliating, semi-colonial status.

The Roy edition, with a carping commentary by Peter Jaffe fore and aft, and with sneering footnotes amidships, treats the original text as the Daily Worker might handle a papal encyclical. The Macmillan edition is closer to the technique of the NCWC.

The work as published by Roy would serve to split China and weaken her further, to produce an effect the opposite of what its author intended. By innuendos about official revision and censorship, Roy represents the book as sinister, shrouded in secrecy and mystery. Chiang's Chinese text was first issued in March, 1943. Early in 1944 he published a revised edition, with changes suggested by critics and with some corrections he himself initiated. A comparison of the original with the revised text is offered, as the Macmillan edition indicates, "to satisfy the curiosity of the over-imaginative." This comparison discloses no dark purpose or substantial change in the revision.

The two firms raced to reach the public first, twice advancing the publication dates they had announced. The Macmillan edition will serve its purpose of counteracting the product of its competitor. But the Macmillan promotion has laid more stress on the fact that it offers an authorized translation, than on the book's real merits. This confusion, at least, constitutes a tactical success for the Party-liners.

That China's Destiny should come to English readers in this way is regrettable. The book deserves fair, undistracted study. It is less elegant in style, less soothing, less ephemeral than a Fireside Chat. But whoever takes the pains to dig deep into its compact paragraphs will find some veins of

thought that grow broad and rich.

Chiang's purpose is to interpret the causes and effects of the unequal treaties, and to tell of the principles and the movement that finally obtained their abrogation. He tempers congratulations upon initial success with a warning against complacency therein. Chiang exhorts his people to live up to the responsibilities that flow from their free, equal status among the nations. At some length he explains his views and his program for the complete renewal of a China that can best serve her own people and contribute to the welfare of a free and peaceful world. This program the Generalissimo continually relates to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People.

Sketching the causes of China's humiliation, Chiang says that Manchu tyrants, after 1645, suppressed the truly Chinese culture and scholarship in order to stifle nationalism and respect for the people's rights. The Manchu policy was to divide and rule, to pit the Chinese against each other, to create a gulf between civilians and soldiery. Soldiers lived off the civilians and became incompetent drones.



This policy put China behind the emerging West. When the Western Powers came to China they found the people disaffected towards the regime, discordant and feeble. The Powers exploited China, bullied her government, and stripped her coastal defenses (so that when the Japanese attacked in force she was "a house with its gates wide open"). The opium trade, protected by the treaties, was a drain on China's economy; what is worse, it weakened her people physically and morally. Foreign tariff and customs controls paralyzed economic reconstruction. The urban Concessions were sanctuaries for warlords and lawbreakers, centers of intrigue; they impoverished and demoralized the rural interior.

Theodore White, in Thunder Out of China, says that Chiang's interpretation of China's modern history here is "viciously, indiscriminately antiforeign." The Generalissimo, in my

opinion, writes with restraint. He admits that the Chinese are not blameless for their plight:

When a man is insulted by another, it must be because he has behaved in such a way as to make others lose respect for him, and when a nation is attacked by another it must be because she has behaved in such a way as to give other nations a good chance to attack her. I hope the Chinese will look into their own hearts and find matter for reproach in themselves rather than in others.

Chiang indicates some of this matter for reproach:

... habits of irresponsibility, avarice and indolence, a tendency towards superficiality in the pursuit of knowledge and in the management of public and private affairs, a way of propounding views without reference to practicability. . . . Procrastination has become a general habit. The people are selfish at the expense of others, and put personal before public interest. . . . Our past faults have been corruption, hypocrisy, superficiality, boastfulness.

He speaks plainly, quoting: "Faithful advice is unpleasant to the ear just as good medicine is bitter to the mouth."

The President extols China's traditions. But he writes: "In the past century Christianity has exerted a salutary influence upon the development of scientific knowledge and the reform of social life in China. Its principles were helpful in sowing the seeds of our National Revolution." Moreover, "Western science—natural, social and political—has conferred great benefits on Chinese culture."

He does, however, deplore that the pendulum of Chinese regard for Western science has swung from original suspicion all the way to abject submission. He tells Chinese educators that they should not be rootless, nor mere echoes of Western teachers. He warns them that a theory is not true simply because it is Western, and he names rugged individualism and classstruggle communism as cases in point. "Neglecting our own garden and cultivating the gardens of others" is unwise, he says. He blames those who jettison China's cultural heritage and change their ideas, "while finding it impossible to give a satisfactory explanation for the change."

Seeing the prosperity and power attained by various countries of the world, Chiang writes, we should exert ourselves to the utmost to achieve similar prosperity and power for the

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Chinese Republic and our people. "An ancient sage said: 'If one sees a good man, one must aspire to be equally good'; and a proberb has it: 'It is better to go home and weave a net than to long vainly for fish beside the stream.'"

The Roy publishers, on the jacket of their edition of Chiang's work, say that it is entitled China's Destiny, but is better known as the Mein Kampf of China. Peter Jaffe in his commentary on that edition merely says that the book is widely known as the Mein Kampf of China. These are smear tactics. Any honest reader can find in the book a hundred plain statements that would have curdled the ink in Hitler's pen—I mention these few:

All theories of cultural and racial superiority should, once and for all, be done away with. . . . China has suffered most and longest from foreign oppression; her demand for the freedom and equality of nations oppressed is also the most urgent. . . . A free, strong China will not inflict on other nations the pains and sufferings which she herself has experienced. Much less does China want to inherit the mantle of Japanese imperialism, or to become "the leader of . . . To set store by military strength augurs ill. Scientific limitation of armaments will not end war. The basic causes are inside man. . . . Institutions and ideologies that subordinate human life and values to technique and science must be ended.

Chiang is called a militarist by his enemies. He says: "Civil war is a despicable thing, the greatest shame to a nation. A country's military power should be used to protect the interests of the whole nation." He recalls the course of civil war from 1927 to 1936, because "the lesson taught then is too painful, the injury done to our country too great, and the sacrifice of our people too terrible to be forgotten." This is not the language of a militarist.

Chiang's chief reproach to the Communists is their policy "of regional domination by organized armed force." He makes a good point, telling how: "among the masses they agitated for a class struggle by way of social revolution. Under the slogan of class struggle they looked upon peasants and laborers as their own tools and as a monopoly of the Communist Party, and caused a stoppage of production."

American left-wingers like to call Chiang a reactionary. If they study the thesis of *China's Destiny* they will discover evidence, in his own doctrine, to make their charge stick. Submission to the terms of the Sino-Russian treaty of July, 1945 was a reactionary step in China's history. One must read the book to understand how painful a step it was. But it ill becomes the friends of Stalin in Yenan or New York, or his compliant guests at Yalta, to throw the first stone at this "reactionary."

Fairness demands this defense of the Generalissimo; it should not blind us to the shortcomings of his book.

In three or four passages he employs arguments that have no probative force. Their use weakens the confidence that the author inspires in the bulk of his work. For instance, to support his contention that national reconstruction can soon be realized, he quotes Dr. Sun Yat-sen: "Japan's population and territory are one-eighth or one-tenth that of China. Therefore what takes Japan eight or ten years to accomplish should be accomplished by China hereafter in one or two years." So it would be easier to raise New York or Chicago from ruins than Clinton, Mass.

What is more important, in a discussion on "people's rights," Chiang lauds this statement of Sun Yat-sen: "As we study the evolution of history, we see that the rights of man are not created by Heaven but are the product of the conditions of the times and the movement of events." For domestic consumption in a pagan country, this principle may be expedient; I would expect something sounder from China's Christian President. Both in what it clearly denies and in what it vaguely affirms, the principle cuts the ground from any true, inalienable rights of human persons. It echoes the error and confusion of totalitarian political thought today. China's Destiny is no Mein Kampf; but, while it contains this statement, it will never be a Magna Charta.

Thirdly, Chiang Kai-shek writes with too serene an assurance that the Kuomintang alone has all the right answers to China's ills, that "without the Kuomintang there would be no China," that with or without the help of other parties the Kuomintang will "inevitably" lead China to complete national recovery. This attitude is likely to alienate sincere men who disagree with the Party's policy. Moreover, a degree of wholesome diffidence and elasticity seems called for in those who approach the vast and complex social, economic and political problems of crippled China.

Finally, we in America should like to see greater realism with regard to

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63 Fifth Avenue NEW YORK 3 specific reforms, and less detachment in writing of the distress and poverty that affect so many of the Generalissimo's subjects. There are only brief glimpses of tenderness in the whole book; and yet it was written in a time of great pathos to a suffering people which vies now with Poland for acknowledgement as "the most distressful country the world has ever known." Charles J. McCarthy

... "or the labor is loved"

#### MRS. MIKE

By Benedict and Nancy Freedman. Coward-McCann. 312p. \$2.75

Perhaps I am violating all the rules that in theory I maintain when I start my review of this book by saying that it appealed to me very deeply. I know why I say that, and if my reasons are not exactly critical ones, they are, nevertheless, valid.

They may all be boiled down to this -here is a book, appearing at a time when American publishing is raising a jeremiad over the parlous state of neurotic womanhood, which reaffirms quite simply but effectively the fact that women are capable of sacrifice, hardship, pioneering, for the sake of husband, family and home. It does not matter that the story it has to tell lies back at the turn of the century; what matters is that two young authors, products of these current days, can write so admiringly and sincerely of things modern social thinkers of the more materialistic stripe tell us modern women cannot and will not put up with. Incidentally, I know well an old lady who went through very nearly the same story that is here told of Mrs. Mike, only she went through it in the Dakotas when they were still territories, and not in Canada. The locale does not matter; the spirit matters, and it is a spirit that must inform today's young married couples as it did many of the early century's.

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More important, she realizes that she has become so much a part of her husband that she must return to the hard pioneering life which is, despite all, where her love is.

The book is one of those border-line cases where different tastes will render different verdicts—some, who like their novels tough, will call it sentimental; I am of the opinion that it remains safely packed with sound sentiment without becoming gushy; some will feel that the cards are too neatly stacked with recurrent doom for the young couple; I know, from the old lady I know, that northern homesteading was very like this recapturing of it.

There is a gracious humor throughout and there is a suspicion of Catholicism, though vague. This is no penetrating study of the tremendous buoying power of Catholicism in times of trial, such as was Bordeaux' Fear of Living, but there is a hint of its gentler sustenance that reminds one of Maria Chapdelaine. For the freshness and good sense of Mrs. Mike there is reason to be grateful.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

### GREAT ADVENTURES AND EXPLORATIONS

Edited by Vilhjalmur Stefansson in collaboration with Olive Rathbun Wilcox. Dial. 788p. \$5

#### NEW GUINEA HEADHUNT

By Caroline Mytinger. Macmillan. 441p. \$4

Every schoolboy knows that Columbus discovered America by accident, because it blocked his route to India. Beyond that, however, both schoolboys and adults have the haziest ideas of explorers and what they did, and how their work was related to the culture, economics and politics of their times.

Mr. Stefansson, himself a noted explorer, undertakes to remove this haze. In their own words and those of their contemporaries, he presents the achievements of explorers from Himilco the Carthaginian (470 B.C.) to Shackleton, Amundsen and Scott (A.D. 1908-13). He is not kind to the early Phoenicians, since they spread horror stories for the purpose of turning discoveries into

trade secrets, but he does justice to the long-neglected Pytheas, who apparently discovered Iceland about 330 B.C.

Stefansson and his collaborator also are generous to the Norse discoverers of Greenland and the North American mainland, whose records are more substantial than most people suppose. The remainder of the book makes few departures from standard interpretations, but gains in detail and vividness as it moves into modern times. To this reviewer, one of the finest sections is that devoted to Alexander Mackenzie's trip across Canada in his heroic effort to compete with the Hudson Bay Company. This was commercial exploration, but on a plane which freed it from both pettiness and the inhumanity to which even such men as Columbus succumbed. It is to the book's credit that it presents the bad with the good, yet leaves the latter unimpaired. The text is supported by clear and simple maps which are the work of Richard Edes Harrison.

Stefansson presents exploration on a grand scale; Miss Mytinger shows what can be done by two women who want to reach out-of-the way places, see unfamiliar people, and bring back significant results. For Miss Mytinger, these are portraits of New Guinea natives of pre-Japanese days. As in a previous volume, the author is humorous, alert, understanding and just a bit too determined to omit nothing because of maidenly modesty. But her words, even more than halftone reproductions of what must be stunning paintings, sympathetically portray primitive people who are seeking to adjust themselves to benevolent but incomprehensible despots from Europe. In this, New Guinea Headhunt has value far beyond its purpose. CARROLL LANE FENTON

#### BURNING LIGHTS

By Bella Chagall. Schocken Books. 262p. \$3

Warm and human, sometimes fanciful, sometimes realistic are these childhood memories of a Jewish family in Vitebsk in the early 1900's. With a richness of detail and with a faithful recapturing of a little girl's viewpoint, Bella Chagall has recreated the daily life of her family and, since she writes of orthodox Jews, the family life and religious life are closely related. As the chapter headings indicate, her memories center around the religious observances—her father at his daily

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prayer; the peace and joy of the Sabbath; the blowing of the ram's horn and the casting out of sins at Roshha-Shanah; the family at shul all day on Yom Kippun; the ritual dancing at Simchat Torah, the feast of the rejoicing in the law; the shining lights of Hanukkah; the gifts at Purim; the ceremenies and solemnity of Passover.

Even such a partial listing of the year's feasts may give an impression of a handbook, if not an encyclopedia. The book is not primarily a factual account of the rituals and symbolism as might be found in the Jewish Encyclopedia. Bella Chagall is concerned with the memories of her family and herself at worship, at the family feastday dinners, in the preparations for the holidays, in the games and celebrations, and in the sharply varying moods of the great feasts. In telling her story, she provides the reader with vivid penpictures of her father and mother, their apartment and its furnishings, her father's shop, and the synagogue at different times of the year. Nor is humor lacking, especially in the cook's struggle to prepare a kosher Passover while the children bedevil her, begging for tastes, threatening to pollute all that she has purified and made ready, causing her to wail in lamentation at their mischief and her tired feet.

Translated from the Yiddish, the language seems characteristic and appropriate. The book is illustrated with drawings by Marc Chagall, husband of the author. Stories of traditional Jewish life have a strong appeal for the Christian reader—"spiritually we are Semites." These unpretentious sketches portray a charming little girl, a Godfearing and contented family, and a happy integration of religion and daily living.

MARY STACK MCNIFF

## The Word

TO ONE WHO, LIKE HENRY James, delights "in a palpable, imaginable, visitable past," the name Thessalonica rings like a hammer on an anvil. For centuries that city, now called Saloniki, has been a teeming port, host or target for navies, focus of sieges, a strategic prize. Vital roads fanned out from it, an enclosed harber lay before it; it dominated the imperial life-line between Rome and her Eastern possessions in such wise that Cicero, who spent part of his exile

there, spoke of the Thessalonians as "placed in the lap of the Empire." Not the least of its titles to respect is that to the early Christians there, Paul wrote two of his epistles. A fragment of the first is read in the Mass for the second Sunday of Lent.

When he arrived at Thessalonica, Paul found many Jews working in the busy weaving marts, and for three successive Sabbaths he vainly addressed himself to them. Finding them obdurate in their refusal of Christ, he turned to the pagans who were surprisingly re ceptive, and it was these converts whom he sustained and strengthened by his two letters. They were taking their first faltering steps in the faith, they were living in a city of sin, temptation was strong and none knew better than Paul that man is weak. The letters remind them of his doctrine and implore them to embrace the moral obligations deriving from those truths.

There is an attitude abroad today, a comfortable conviction which small souls cherish, that restricted service, half-hearted love are sufficient return to Christ for all that He did for us. The part-time Catholic keeps his religion strictly departmentalized within the half hour he allots to it on Sunday morning; he makes his Easter duty but is generally too busy to confess and receive frequently; he has no time in the morning to dedicate the day to God; he is too weary in the evening to say his night prayers; he is not above sharp practice in business; he habitually commits deliberate venial sins and occasionally falls into mortal faults; but, withal, feels he is doing enough. He is "not a monk (or a nun)," he tells you, but "a man of the world. a practical man."

Paul had no intention of letting his converts lapse into this rationalized mediocrity. You have done well, he assures them encouragingly, but you must keep on. "We beseech and exhort you in the Lord Jesus to make even greater progress." In the life of the spirit it is axiomatic that not to advance is to go back. "A man," says Gregory the Great, "falls to the bottom unless he strives to reach the top." So Paul bluntly tells them and us that God is not satisfied with a small return on His great investment of love: "This is the will of God, your sanctification."

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All around his converts was temptation; animalism and loose morality threatened the new ideal of Christian chastity within marriage and outside of it. Lust, Paul warns them, must not be permitted to ravage the body and regulate one's life; the battle against passion has no armistice, admits of no quarter; we must continually fight and so "please God."

The breakdown of our public morality reflected in the lurid headlines of the public press; in the decadent taste, creative and critical, in literature, points out to us how timeless and therefore timely are the Pauline admonitions.

Yet parents permit children to stock immature imaginations with foul pictures from movie, magazine or "comic books"; mothers elevate vogue above virtue and allow daughters to dress immodestly at the dictate of inexorable fashion. Many of us are more casual about chastity than the saints dared to be. "No chastity," says the Imitation, "is secure if you do not protect it."

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY, S.J.

## Theatre

ALL MY SONS, it says in the playbill, was produced by Harold Clurman, Elia Kazan and Walter Fried, in association with Herbert H. Harris. That's too many names to include in a brief review. Why couldn't they just call themselves Clurman & Co.?

Anyway, they have brought an interesting play to the Coronet, but one that is not original in subject or point of view. Arthur Miller, the author, is indignant because during the war many business men were not as honest as they might have been in their dealings with the Government. His specific villian, one Joe Keller, delivered a consignment of defective airplane engines to the Army, and was therefore morally responsible for the death of several pilots. He was smart enough to escape legal blame, however; he continued to prosper in business and retain the respect of his neighbors, and was even exonerated by his conscience.

It is not difficult to understand why Joe Keller thought well of himself. He was a good family man, a protective husband and provident father and, as a patriotic citizen, he had willingly given two sons to the war, one of whom did not return. In his opinion he had not committed a wrong, but only made a mistake, and similar mistakes were being made in scores of plants every day. A feeling of guilt did not catch up with him until his surviving son discovered why the defects in the

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engines were not detected before they were shipped out of the plant. Even then Keller did not actually feel guilty, but wilted into a sort of King Lear dejection, crushed by the scorn of what he felt was an ungrateful son. A pleasant love story is involved in the plot, but the author is best when portraying character. The people in All My Sons are as admirable, pathetic, jovial and despicable as one's various neighbors across the street.

Mr. Kazan's direction is adequate. and Mordecai Gorelik's set is a nice suburban backyard.

JOHN LOVES MARY. Among life's intermediate pleasures not the least is contemplating a well-done job-say, an overcoat by Rogers Peet, a cup of coffee in the Automat, a sound martini, waterproof half-soles on one's second-best shoes, or any less important task performed by a conscientious craftsman who believes that anything worth doing is worth doing well. The current at-

FILMS FOR CHURCHES

traction in The Booth is as unimportant as a play can be without being utterly worthless. But the producers, Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II, in association with Joshua Logan, have spared no effort or expense to make it worth the \$4.80 per orchestra seat charged at the door, and have achieved a sparkling comedy.

The story, which describes the difficulties encountered by a soldier and his girl in getting themselves married, was written by Norman Krasna. Mr. Logan directed and Frederick Fox designed the set; both were efficient at their jobs. But John Loves Mary is primarily an actors' play, and all members of the cast go to town making it a mirthful comedy guaranteed to relieve the tired businessman's blood pressure. It would be a pleasure to comment on individual performances, but ditto first paragraph of preceding review. Too many producers on a bill serve to kill the actors' favorable notices.

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## Films

SONG OF SCHEHERAZADE. An episode from the life of Rimsky-Korsakov provides a romantic excuse for this technicolored musical treat. As a concert with animated program notes, the film is excellent and rises above the inadequacies of the fictitious frou-frou. When a unit of the Imperial Russian Navy puts in at a Mediterranean port, the young officer meets a dancer and begins to think twice about his chosen career. However, the unusual lady not only dissuades him from jumping ship but also inspires him to composition. This sentimental motivation leaves little enough credit for Glinka but, to give standardized romance its due, it fits in rather well with the story-book brilliance of the score. Walter Reisch directed, and his attempts to indicate the disciplinary side of naval life along with detailing the romantic parting and reunion at the première of Scheherazade are too much for a unified impression. Jean Pierre Aumont, Yvonne DeClaro and Brian Donlevy are capable; and Charles Kullman's voice is a valuable item in the production. The picture will please the family. (Universal)

THE RED HOUSE. The mystery in this picture yields to the newer vogue of morbidity and, lest there be any audience doubt that this is a psychological yarn, the plot develops as slowly as the mills of the gods are reputed - to grind. Now that the initial shock of recognition is past, there appears to be a growing connection between dementia and plain dullness. An old bachelor keeps the secret of his isolated red house until an adopted daughter and her farmboy fiancé tear away the veil. The farmer, guilty of a double murder in a passion of jealousy, cracks under his fear of the past and forestalls arrest by committing suicide. All in all, a charming little idyl. Delmar Daves' direction confuses slowness with significance. Edward G. Robinson, Judith Anderson and Lon McAllister are featured. This is for adults who enjoy synthetic tragedy. (United Artists)

THAT WAY WITH WOMEN. Following the modern advertising dictum that the label is more important than the product, the title of this film points one way while the plot goes another. It is

actually a harmless and bootless little story, recast from the studio files, about a millionaire who finds no relaxation in retirement. He becomes a partner, incognito, in a gas-station venture and proves to his cynical young associate that wealth is no bar to the sharing of human feelings. Frederick de Cordova directed, and Sydney Greenstreet leaves off being sinister long enough to bring Dane Clark and Martha Vickers together. This is only fair family entertainment. (Warner)

THE ANGEL AND THE BADMAN. This is a civilized horse opera which stresses reform by good example rather than by sudden death. It does not upset tradition completely because good direction keeps it on the active side, but the film manages to be a sequence of events rather than just a series of shots. A badman of the old school is wounded in the pursuit of his calling and is taken into a Quaker home for care. He is attacked by romance on the one side and the incentive to reform on the other, and finally settles down to the constructive business of farming. John Wayne and Gail Russell play the titular characters and make the combination credible. The production is better than usual for this type of outdoor melodrama, and it makes a good frontier adventure for the family. (Republic) THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

## Parade

" . . . THEY SHALL SOW A WIND, and reap a whirlwind." . . . The Old Testament prophet, Osee, referred to contemporaries who were straying far from God, but his words are equally pertinent to this day and age. . . . Roaring up and down these United States today is a whirlwind of awsome power, a whirlwind that developed from a wind sown by human hands. . . . Piling up moral rubble in its far-flung wake, this whirlwind is particularly destructive of the characters of little boys and girls. . . . Startling, unprecedented, almost unbelievable, the news nevertheless is there in the newspapers, day after day. . . . While New York policemen were arresting two fifteen-year-old safe-crackers, New York firemen were fighting a four-alarm, \$200,000 blaze-a spite fire set by a sixteen-year-old boy. . . . A twelve-year-old New Jersey boy hanged himself in a school washroom. . . . A

Long Island youngster, also twelve, selected his home as the place to hang himself in. . . . A fourteen-year-old Manhattan youth stole a rifle, took potshots at passersby, wounded three. . . . In California, a boy, aged fifteen, pumped two bullets into the head of a neighboring housewife. . . . In Brooklyn, a thirteen-year-old marksman lay at noon on his roof shooting at marquee light bulbs. He spied a woman walking on the street below, decided it would be more fun shooting at her. He fired. She died the next day. . . . An Indianan, just thirteen, shot and killed a farmer's wife. She had scolded him for being lazy. . . . In Philadelphia, two young boys of well-to-do families brutally beat a policeman to death. . . . A Wilmington, Del., boy killed a detective. . . . In Indiana, a fourteen-year-old youth first shot his grandfather, then clubbed him with the rifle butt "just to see how I'd feel about doing it.". . . . A Californian, of junior-high age, shot and killed his father and stepmother. . . . A Pennsylvania father chastised his fifteenyear-old son for getting poor marks in school. It cost the father his life. The son fired a shotgun blast at the father's head, killed him. . . . In Missouri, a fourteen-year-old daughter of a socially prominent family ran away with a thirteen-year-old boy. The girl's father, finding the youthful pair in a tourist camp, put them in the back seat of his car, headed for home. As the auto neared her fashionable suburban residence, the girl borrowed an automatic pistol from the boy, fired at her daddy. The bullet plunged into the back of daddy's neck, came out through daddy's right eye. Daddy died.

The whirlwind tears fiercely on and on throughout the nation. . . . It came out of a wind sown by men and women whose ears had become deaf to the teachings of Christ. . . . It came out of a wind that blew religion out of education; a wind that piled mountainhigh everywhere the broken homes f divorce. . . . Centuries ago, Christ stilled a tempest which threatened the physical life of those who had faith in Him. . . . Christ is in the world today. . . . If modern man will return to Him, return and follow Him, He will still the whirlwind that menaces the eternal life of millions. . . . As He spoke centuries ago, He will speak again. . . To the whirlwind He will say: "Peace, be still." . . . And the whirlwind will cease to fume and a great calm will follow. JOHN A. TOOMEY

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## Correspondence

#### Farm cooperatives

EDITOR: I was interested in the article on farm cooperatives in AMERICA of February 1, due to the fact that for a number of years I have been in direct competition with a farm cooperative in the oil business.

I know that the Church, in dealing with our social and economic life, wants to be charitable, just and fair. The Papal teaching on Christian democracy illustrates this; it does not favor subsidizing any social group.

But I think you will agree that the farm cooperatives are subsidized by the Federal and State governments; a good part of the salaries of the managers of these cooperatives is paid by the United States and the States.

Further, we live in a capitalistic country, a country that believes every man should have the same right to progress. That being the case, it is the patriotic duty of all businesses to pay taxes to support the Federal Government, especially at a time when the public debt is as highly inflationary as at present. Since the cooperatives pay no Federal taxes, and are subsidized as well, they can take the money that the other business men must pay the Government as taxes and expand their businesses through the acquisition of more property and other capital assets-from the profits on which they

I ask you these simple questions: 1) What would become of the Federal debt if 75 per cent of all our business were done through cooperatives? 2) How would the farmer like it if all the profits of agriculture reverted to the people who consume their commodities? That is what the cooperatives are asking.

In the case of the cooperatives, the Government is using taxpayers' money, directly and indirectly, to subsidize a business in direct competition with people who pay those taxes. That is contrary to the American way of life and Christian democracy.

The American bishops' theory of turning the present system of profits into a system of services will be OK in heaven, where man reaches perfection, but in a country on earth, where we all share in the responsibility for sound government, it will not work if carried to extremes. I realize that the time man spends on this earth is insignificant. I also realize that he cannot expect justice and perfection on earth; but he has a right to rise up against inequalities in government, to see that government serves man justly instead of being his master—which it is in the greater part of the world today.

Hardin, Ill. F. A. MUNSTERMAN

#### Church, State and GI's

EDITOR: Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., does a good job of explaining true and false concepts regarding separation of Church and State, especially with respect to public aid for education, in the matter of parochial schools (AMERICA, Feb. 15).

However, he has not included one obvious point. The Federal Government, in the GI Bill of Rights, has decreed that the veteran may attend either a public or private school. He thereby receives government support, whichever type of school he may choose. If war veterans obtain, and are entitled to, this aid, why cannot their children receive the same aid?

As a country pastor, I should like to have this point more fully discussed.

Elburn, Ill.

(Rev.) L. J. GUZZARDO

## Educational mission to Germany

EDITOR: Father Felix N. Pitt's article, "Educational mission to Germany," in your issue of January 18, deserves the heartiest commendation. His statement: "It is practically impossible to sell democracy to a hungry people," deserves special attention at this moment. Letters from all zones of Germany reaching Canada as well as the U. S., tell a heartbreaking story of the inhuman misery existing in all parts of Germany. Reading these letters and then hearing present talk about reeducating the Germans makes one's face redden. How can we hope for one minute to make the German people democracy-minded when, at the same time, we let many starve to death?

St. Thomas' saying of seven hundred years ago still stands good today: Primum vivere, deinde philosophare. First let Germans live, and then see if they are democracy-minded or not.

Rockglen, Sask., Canada

(Rev.) A. J. Fuhs

#### A few bouquets

EDITOR: I wish to express my enthusiasm and appreciation of an article in your publication, edition of Feb. 1, 1947, entitled "Prospects for Catholic Scholarship," which was contributed by Edna Beyer.

I believe that the author summed up the situation of Catholic scholarship very adequately, completely, objectively, and with lucidity.

Providence, R. I.

CARLETON G. MACDOUGALD

EDITOR: In renewing my subscription to AMERICA, to which I have been a subscriber for some years, I should like to express my appreciation of the invaluable help your magazine has given me in my work as librarian of our parish library. It has been my dependable guide in the selection of books, and the book supplements have been my constant reference.

Everything about it has pleased me, save one detail—and that is the new cover. Perhaps it is because this past year I lost my dear father that the broad black band of AMERICA plunges me in gloom but, once I open its pages, other emotions take place—interest, pleasure and inspiration. The issue of December 21, with its red band gives me the idea of the same in varying colors with the seasons—blue for Our Lady, purple for Lent, green for Easter, etc.

Fredericton, N. B., Canada MOLLY BARRY

EDITOR: Since Father Anthony, the local pastor, introduced me to AMERICA, I have read it from cover to cover. The book reviews are certainly outstanding—all of the magazine is, for that matter.

As I thought you would be interested in my comments as a non-Catholic editor on the recent Declaration of Rights [Declaration of Human Rights, drafted by the National Catholic Welfare Conference], I attach a copy of my paper.

Ashland, Wis.

JOHN B. CHAPPLE

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